

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXX-1981



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

Editorial Board

Editors :

Prof. Dr. Jozef IJsewijn (Leuven-Belgium); Dr. Gilbert Tournoy (Leuven);
Dr. Constant Matheeußen (Brussel).

Associate Editors :

Prof. Dr. Leonard Forster (Cambridge); Prof. Claude-Henri Frèches
(Aix-en-Provence); Prof. Dr. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb); Prof. Dr. M. Miglio
(Roma/Bari); Prof. Dr. Fred Nichols (New York); Prof. Dr. Jan Öberg
(Stockholm); Mgr. Dr. José Ruyschaert (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana);
Prof. Dr. Lidia Winniczuk (Warszawa); Prof. Dr. D. Wuttke (Bamberg).

Editorial Assistants :

Drs. Marcus De Schepper; Mrs J. IJsewijn-Jacobs; Dr. Godelieve
Tournoy-Thoen.

*

Volumes 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry de Vocht from 1928 to 1961 as a series of monographs on the history of humanism at Louvain, especially in the *Collegium Trilingue*. These volumes are obtainable in a reprint edition.

Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher : *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

Librarians who wish for an exchange with *Humanistica Lovaniensia* should apply to the Librarian of the University Library of Leuven (K.U.L.): Dr. J. Roegiers, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ladeuzeplein 22, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex.) to a member of the editorial board. They should follow the prescriptions of the *MHRA Style Book*, published by W. S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England.

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge.

Address of the Editor : Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Faculteitsgebouw Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

CAROLO LVDOVICO WEITZEL
viro philomvso
amico incomparabili
septvagesimvm vitae annvm celebranti
EDITORES
D.D.L.M.

HUMANISTICA
LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXX-1981



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België,
en van de Belgische Regering.*

© Universitaire Pers Leuven / Leuven University Press / Presses Universitaires de
Louvain, Krakenstraat, 3 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd en/of openbaar gemaakt door
middel van druk, fotokopie, microfilm of op welke andere wijze ook zonder
voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint,
microfilm or any other means without written permission from the publisher.

ISBN 90 6186 119 5

Wettelijk depot : 1981/1869/12

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Text Editions and Studies.

Giovanna NICOLAJ PETRONIO, <i>Per la soluzione di un enigma: Giovanni Aretino copista, notaio e cancelliere</i>	1
J. LEONHARDT, <i>Niccolò Perotti und die Ars versificandi von C. Celtis</i>	13
J.M. WEISS, <i>The Six Lives of Rudolph Agricola. Forms and Functions of the Humanist Biography</i>	19
M. HAVERALS, <i>Un manuscrit retrouvé de la première rédaction du traité De Contemptu Mundi d'Erasme</i>	40
Erika RUMMEL, <i>The Use of Greek in Erasmus' Letters</i>	55
H.B. NORLAND, <i>Vives' Critical View of Drama</i>	93
L.V. RYAN, <i>Milton's Epitaphium Damonis and B. Zanchi's Elegy on Baldassare Castiglione</i>	108
I. OSORIO ROMERO, <i>Jano o la Literatura Neolatina de México (Visión retrospectiva)</i>	124
J.A. PARENTE, <i>Counter-Reformation Polemic and Senecan Tragedy: The Dramas of Gregorius Holonius (1531?-1594)</i>	156
A.M.M. DEKKER, <i>Dix Odes latines inconnues de Jean Dorat</i>	181
A.M.M. DEKKER, <i>Ein Unbekanntes Gedicht aus den Acanthae des Paulus Melissus</i>	194
Elida Maria SZAROTA, <i>Der Einfluss der Frühaufklärung auf das Jesuitendrama</i>	197
H. KOLLER, <i>Eine lateinische Zeitung des 18. Jahrhunderts: H. Stettler's Commentarii rerum gestarum</i>	214

2. Miscellanea.

— A.M.M. DEKKER, <i>Die Cantilenae des Macropedius: ein Nachtrag</i>	239
— ID., <i>Laurentius Breynet Marbasiensis</i>	240

3. Instrumenta.

— Instrumentum bibliographicum	242
— Instrumentum lexicographicum	271

4. Indices.

— Index codicum manu scriptorum	273
— Index nominum	274

Giovanna NICOLAJ PETRONIO

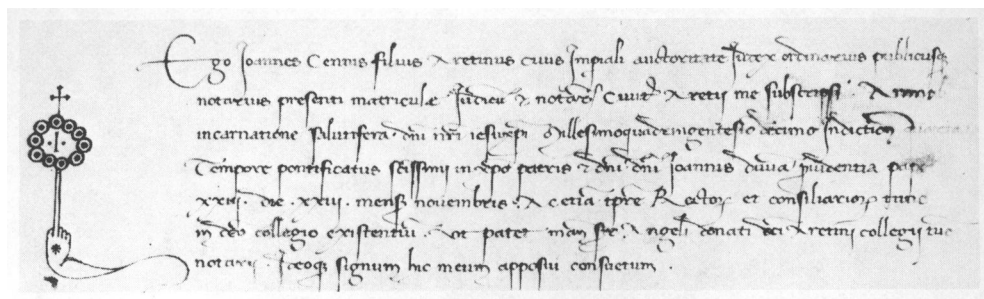
PER LA SOLUZIONE DI UN ENIGMA:
GIOVANNI ARETINO COPISTA,
NOTAIO E CANCELLIERE

A scorrere la matricola dei notai di Arezzo¹ ci si imbatte il 23 novembre 1410 nella sottoscrizione di ser Giovanni di Cenni, singolare e decisamente di spicco fra le altre perché tracciata in una minuscola senz'altro originale e fortemente innovata al modo umanistico, poc'anzi tradotta in concreti prodotti grafici da un ristretto circolo di filologi e ancora a questi circoscritto²: tale scrittura è infatti caratterizzata dall'inserzione di elementi strutturali dell'*antiqua* — la *a* carolina alternata ad una minuscola tonda, la legatura antica *ct*, la *g* di forma antica a grande coda tonda appesa ad un picciolo netto ed obliquo, le aste di *b*, *h*, *l* diritte o meglio con lo svolazzo tradizionale ad occhiello talmente ridotto da costituire solo un piccolo bottone all'apice, reinserimento del dittongo — ed è tutta permeata da un gusto di fondo umanistico per il modulo, il peso ed il ritmo dei tratti, delle lettere e delle parole (tav. I a).

¹ Archivio di Stato di Arezzo (d'ora in avanti A.S.A.), *Collegio dei dottori e notari*, n. 1; sul codice v. G. Nicolaj Petronio, "Notariato aretino tra medioevo ed età moderna: Collegio, Statuti e matricole dal 1339 al 1739", in corso di stampa nella raccolta miscellanea di studi dedicati a Leopoldo Sandri.

² Sugli esordi della riforma grafica umanistica basti rammentare G. Cencetti, *Lineamenti di storia della scrittura latina* (Bologna, 1954), pp. 259 e ss.; B.L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Roma, 1960), pp. 11-109; J. Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism. Some Aspects of Humanistic Script 1460-1560* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 1-7; A.C. De La Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists*, I, fasc. I: *Francesco Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio, Coluccio Salutati, Niccolò Niccoli, Poggio Bracciolini, Bartolomeo Aragazzi of Montepulciano, Sozomeno of Pistoia, Giorgio Antonio Vespucci* (Oxford, 1973); E. Casamassima, "Literulae latinae". Nota paleografica a S. Caroti-S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio umanista fiorentino*, Documenti sulle arti del libro, X (Milano, 1974), pp. IX-XIV, XXII e s.; A.C. De La Mare, "Humanistic Script: the First Ten Years", in *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch* (Boppard, 1977), pp. 89-110.

Quanto alla sottoscrizione di Giovanni di Cenni, essa emerge da un panorama di semigotiche, più corsive o più posate: A.S.A., *Collegio dei dottori e notari*, n. 1, c. 49.



Tav. I a: A.S.A., *Collegio dei dottori e notari*, n. 1, c. 60.

Di questo notaio non si conoscono, al momento, né protocolli né altre attestazioni nell'archivio del Collegio aretino. La sua strada è stata un'altra: egli è stato infatti sorteggiato il 29 ottobre 1410 alla carica di notaio e "scriba" dei priori della città d'Arezzo e di cancelliere del Comune per la durata del quadrimestre seguente, novembre-dicembre 1410 e gennaio-febbraio 1411³. Per spiegare la somma degli incarichi e il complesso dell'attività documentaria che ne dipendeva, è necessario ricordare che, negli anni successivi alla sottomissione di Arezzo a Firenze avvenuta nel 1384⁴ e al suo inserimento nel dominio fiorentino, la signoria di Firenze si era ripetutamente preoccupata di regolare gli uffici preposti alla documentazione pubblica, tra i quali principalmente quello del "cancellarius civitatis Aretii pro comuni Florentiae" e quello del "notarius dominorum priorum" e insieme "notarius camerarii comunis Aretii", uffici che almeno fino al 1396 sembrano separati⁵.

³ A.S.A., *Estrazioni degli uffici pubblici di città*, n. 6, c. 5: "In Consilio populi generali civitatis Aretii ... ser Iohannes Cennis Nomis, civis et notarius Aretinus, extractus fuit ut supra de bursa ad hoc deputata in notarium et scribam dominorum priorum populi civitatis Aretii et cancellarium comunis Aretii pro tempore et termino quatuor mensium initiandorum die primo mensis novembris proximi futuri cum officio, emolumentis et ceteris aliis consuetis".

⁴ U. Pasqui, *Documenti per la storia della città di Arezzo nel Medio Evo*, III, *Codice diplomatico (an. 1337-1385)*, Documenti di storia italiana a cura della Regia Deputazione di storia patria per la Toscana, XIV (Firenze, 1937), nn. 846-851.

⁵ Norme per il cancelliere si incontrano, per esempio, nel 1387 e nel 1390 (A.S.A., *Statuti e Riforme del Comune di Arezzo*, 1342-1771, n. 4, cc. 3-3': rubr. XXXI, *ordinamenta circa cancellarium facta*; cc. 23-23': rubr. XLII, *quod cancellarius non possit se absentare a civitate Aretii*; c. 28: par. *de cancellario*); che il suo ruolo e la sua funzione, che meriterebbero un chiarimento, dipendessero da Firenze è suggerito da alcuni elementi, come il divieto di assentarsi senza il permesso dei priori e del vessillifero di giustizia fiorentini. In contemporanea, si provvede anche al notaio dei priori, che deve essere anche notaio del camerario comunitativo, nel 1390, 1393, 1396 (*ivi*, cc. 13, 17, 19-19', 28, 39, 40').

Dopo questa data e certo fino al 1417⁶, le due cariche vengono cumulate e così il cancelliere del Comune è anche notaio dei priori e provvede alla documentazione degli atti delle supreme magistrature cittadine come le Deliberazioni del Consiglio generale e le Estrazioni degli uffici⁷; appronta inoltre gli strumenti necessari al funzionamento delle magistrature comunitative e prepara perciò i Daziaioli, cioè le copie dei libri della "lira" necessarie al camerario del dazio per riscuotere le imposizioni effettuate sull'estimo, registrandovi poi, in qualità di notaio di Camera, i pagamenti fatti dai contribuenti⁸. E' così che, per il quadrimestre di carica, si trovano le testimonianze dell'attività del cancelliere Giovanni di Cenni nella serie *Deliberazioni del Consiglio generale*⁹, in quella delle *Estrazioni degli Uffici pubblici di Città*¹⁰ e in quella del *Camarlingo Comunitativo, Daziaioli*¹¹.

Questa documentazione spicca anch'essa fra quella analoga dei predecessori e dei successori del nostro per la qualità della scrittura: se, infatti, nei *Daziaioli*, coerentemente con il tipo di atti, si passa da una semigotica limpida ad una semigotica corsiva, sottile, leggera, veloce e molto legata¹² — sebbene in pagine a lettere ingrandite o

⁶ Da una proposta in Consiglio generale del 29 marzo 1417: "Primo cum cancellarius comunis Aretii retro temporibus et sive nunc est notarius dominorum priorum, cancellarius comunis, notarius reformationum, notarius camerarii comunis Aretii et multa alia officia exercet impossibilia uni soli notario ..." (A.S.A., *Deliberazioni dei Priori e del Consiglio generale*, n. 5, c. 212').

⁷ D. Marzi, *La cancelleria della Repubblica fiorentina* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1910), pp. 106-113, esamina per Firenze l'unione dell'Ufficio delle Tratte (e cioè delle Estrazioni) prima a quello delle Riformagioni, poi alla Cancelleria delle lettere tenuta da Coluccio Salutati.

⁸ Ringrazio sentitamente la dott.ssa Paola Benigni, funzionaria dell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze, che lavora proprio sulle fonti per lo studio dell'imposizione diretta in Arezzo tra il XIV e il XV secolo e mi ha perciò offerto utili chiarimenti sulla attività documentaria dei notai addetti a questi uffici.

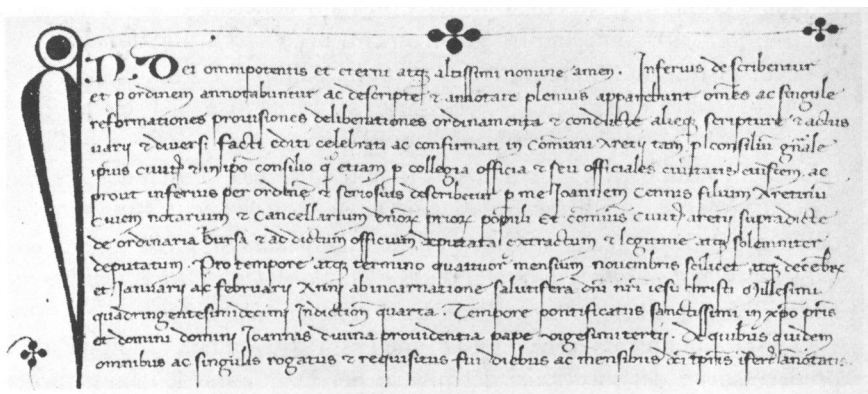
⁹ A.S.A., serie cit., n. 5, cc. 25-31.

¹⁰ A.S.A., serie cit., n. 6, cc. 8-12.

¹¹ A.S.A., serie cit., all'anno 1410, cc. 1-12'.

¹² Sulla "semigotica delle carte" e le sue varietà v. Cencetti, *Lineamenti* (cf. n. 2), pp. 289-292. Per quanto concerne la scrittura di Giovanni di Cenni è evidente e significativa la sua gradualità: nelle parti del registro approntate da Giovanni in qualità di cancelliere e notaio dei priori e quindi stese con un certo respiro — protocollo, elenco delle imposizioni decise dal Consiglio generale e dai priori e, nelle carte successive, nominativi dei contribuenti e rispettivi estimi — la scrittura è chiara e abbastanza posata; nelle registrazioni, invece, dei pagamenti ricevuti, effettuate in qualità di notaio di Camera sotto i nominativi precedentemente preparati e certo al momento della riscossione, la mano corre lieve e rapidissima. Si noti, infine, che le registrazioni non sono tutte di mano di ser Giovanni; alcune sono dovute ai suoi successori nella carica, essendo avvenuti i pagamenti relativi in date posteriori allo scadere del suo mandato.

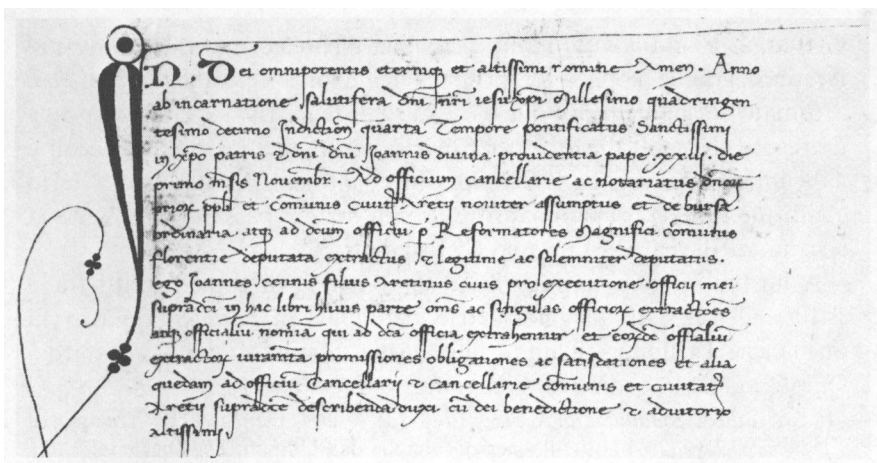
maiuscole di gusto gotico si colgano a caroline, g antiche, aste di l forcellate all'apice e poi A, L, N e R di modello capitale e con piccoli 'empattements' all'estremità dei tratti —, nelle *Deliberazioni* (tav. I b)



Tav. I b: A.S.A., *Deliberazioni del Consiglio generale*, n. 5, c. 25.

e nelle *Estrazioni* (tav. II a), invece, la mano trascolora da una minuscola particolarissima e personalissima ad una semigotica meno inconsueta, a momenti più posata o più corsiva. S'è detto minuscola particolare e personale, perché nessuna delle nomenclature correntemente in uso sembra calzante e convincente: nel terribile imbroglio rappresentato dal panorama delle scritture semigotiche e umanistiche corsive¹³, insomma dal filone usuale tra XIV e XV secolo sia nei suoi atteggiamenti corsivi e documentari sia nelle sue realizzazioni posate e librarie, in fondo e in mancanza di indagini esaurienti sembra che resti acquisita una certezza. Essa vuole che la tendenza predominante e 'canonica' alla nitidezza e alla semplificazione della cancelleresca italiana del XIV secolo non trovi contraddizione nel canone dell'*antiqua* formata, anzi vi trovi, se pur in un sistema grafico diverso e alternativo,

¹³ Una limpida carrellata su tale panorama si deve a G. Battelli, "Nomenclature des écritures humanistiques", in *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IX^e au XVI^e siècle. Premier colloque international de paléographie latine (Paris, 28-30 avril 1953)* (Paris, 1954), pp. 35-44. Sull'intricato problema della 'umanistica corsiva' sono ancora fondamentali le pagine di Cencetti, *Lineamenti* (cf. n. 2), pp. 289 e ss. Malgrado sia chiaro da tempo che il vasto ambito delle scritture non canonizzate fra XIV e XV secolo non possa essere chiarito né in senso genetico né sotto la suggestione dei punti d'arrivo di certi processi evolutivi, che fa «ricercare a ritroso le affinità stilistiche nelle forme precedenti», le nomenclature si sono moltiplicate; che la strada da seguire sia un'altra è lucidamente sostenuto da Casamassima, *Literulae latinae* (cf. n. 2), pp. XXII e ss., che, infatti, evita accuratamente e al massimo le definizioni.



Tav. II a: A.S.A., Estrazioni degli Uffici pubblici di Città, n. 6, c. 8.

una elaborazione ad elemento strutturale del canone stesso; al succedersi dei due fenomeni — il primo divenuto, il secondo nato librario — fanno eco nell'ambito dell'usuale non canonizzata molteplici sperimentazioni e realizzazioni, personali e locali, diverse per gradi di interazione dell'un sistema sull'altro. Nel caso della scrittura di ser Giovanni si potrebbe si parlare di semigotica ad impronta umanistica — ma non persuade, perché si tratta di qualcosa di più di una influenza — ovvero di umanistica corsiva — ma non convince, perché non si tratta di una *antiqua* tracciata corsivamente e le caratteristiche tradizionali sono troppe —. Si ha l'impressione, invece, che una originaria educazione grafica notarile e cancelleresca sia stata seguita da una approfondita esperienza umanistica e che i due sistemi si intreccino e si compongano ora in un difficile e precoce equilibrio: l'uso insistito di elementi di *antiqua* — *a*, *g*, legatura *ct*, aste forcellate o a bottone, dittonghi — è inserito in una trama tradizionale cancelleresca — *d* di modello onciale, aste 'bastarde' di *f* ed *s*, legature e svolazzi —; la medesima trama non è più trattata con la mano scorrevole e distesa che le era propria, bensì vivacemente tratteggiata e ritmata in "a pizzicato movement" tipico dell'*antiqua* fiorentina¹⁴.

Cresce la curiosità di delineare un po' di più i lineamenti di ser

¹⁴ J. Wardrop, "Pierantonio Sallando and Girolamo Pagliarolo Scribes to Giovanni II Bentivoglio", *Signature*, n.s., 2 (nov. 1946), p. 20.

Giovanni. E non ci vuol molto perché la mente corra a quel Giovanni Aretino, grande copista di prima generazione di codici in *antiqua*, “formato sui modelli di Poggio” e suo “obscure rival”, che conosceva il greco e che molto lavorò per Cosimo de’ Medici insieme a Niccoli e a Bruni, fu maestro di Giacomo Curlo, influenzò Antonio di Mario e informò tutta la prima umanistica fiorentina per passare poi a Venezia accanto ai Barbaro, Francesco ed Ermolao¹⁵.

A lui finora sono stati attribuiti una ventina di codici, scritti fra il 1410 e il 1423, la maggior parte dei quali in *antiqua*, quattro in quella che l’Ullman chiama “humanistic cursive”, uno in bastarda. Questi codici, in ordine di data, sono:

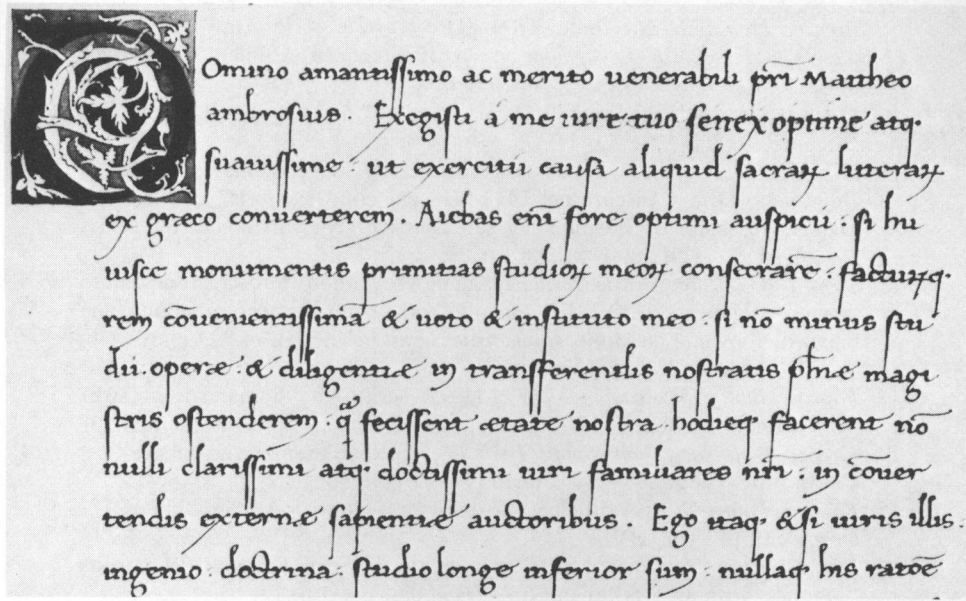
1. *St. Gallen, Stadtbibliothek* 298: finito di essere emendato dal Tanaglia il 28 sett. 1410, attribuito allo stesso Tanaglia dall’Ullman, *The Origin* (cf. n. 2), pp. 82-83 e fig. 43, proposto come opera di Giovanni Aretino dalla De La Mare, *Humanistic Script* (cf. n. 2), p. 105 e fig. 8.
2. *Escorial N.III.7, cc. 2-8’*: copia del *Gorgia* tradotto dal Bruni effettuata per Niccolò Niccoli probabilmente nel 1410 (De La Mare, *Handwriting* (cf. n. 2) pp. 53-54, e *Humanistic Script* cit., p. 102 e fig. 7a).
3. *Firenze, Laur. 83.6*: forse scritto per Bernardo Portinari e forse databile al 1410 (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 94 n. 9; De La Mare, *Humanistic Script* cit., p. 103).
4. *Vat. Pal. lat. 1496*: scritto a Firenze e finito il 5 giugno 1410 per un “Nicolaus Riccius” probabile amico del Bruni e del Niccoli (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., pp. 91-92 n. 1 e fig. 45; De La Mare, *Humanistic Script* cit., p. 102; ripr. in Regoliosi, *Nuove ricerche* (cf. n. 15), tav. XIII, 2).
5. *Firenze, Laur. 63, 4, 5, 6*: Livio in tre volumi, scritti per Cosimo de’ Medici e datati il secondo Firenze, 28 aprile 1412, il terzo 13 gennaio 1413 (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., pp. 92-93 n. 2).
6. *München, Staatsbibl. lat. 763*: finito a Firenze il 10 agosto 1414 (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 93 n. 3 e fig. 46).
7. *Vat. Basil. S. Petri H. 31*: scritto in bastarda e finito a Firenze il 13 novembre 1414 (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 93 n. 4 e fig. 47; ma si veda più avanti la nota 32).
8. *Firenze, Laur. 48, 10*: finito nel febbraio 1416 per Cosimo (Hessel, *Die Entstehung* (cf. n. 15), p. 10 e tav. 2a; Ullman, *The Origin* cit., pp. 93-94 n. 5).

¹⁵ Per Giovanni Aretino v. A. Hessel, “Die Entstehung der Renaissanceschriften”, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, XIII (1933), 10; Ullman, *The Origin* (cf. n. 2), pp. 91-96; R.W. Hunt, “Humanistic Script in Florence in the Early Fifteenth Century”, rist. in *Calligraphy and Palaeography. Essays Presented to A. Fairbank* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 273; J.J.G. Alexander-A.C. De La Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J.R. Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. XXIV, XXVII; M. Regoliosi, “Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli”, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XII (1969), 132-133; De La Mare, *The Handwriting* (cf. n. 2) pp. 48-49, 54; Id., *Humanistic Script* (cf. n. 2), pp. 102-103.

9. Firenze, Laur. 78, 24: finito nel maggio 1416 e scritto in "humanistic cursive" (Hessel, *Die Entstehung* cit., p. 10 e tav. 2b; Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 94 n. 6 e fig. 48).
10. Firenze, Laur. 66, 12: finito il 15 maggio 1417 per Cosimo (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 94 n. 7 e fig. 49).
11. Firenze, Laur. 46, 13: copia non sottoscritta dell'edizione completa di Quintiliano fatta a Firenze nel 1417-1418 cr., con "ex libris" di Piero de' Medici, attribuita a Giovanni nel suo "cursive style" dalla De La Mare, *The Handwriting* cit., p. 49 n. 2.
12. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., ms. D'Orville 78: manoscritto non sottoscritto né datato (ma probabilmente 1417-1418), eseguito forse per Cosimo e attribuito alla mano di Giovanni da Hunt, *Humanistic Script* (cf. n. 15), p. 273 e tav. 47b; cf. De La Mare, *The Handwriting* cit., p. 49 n. 2.
13. Firenze, Bibl. Naz., Conv. Soppr. I.IX.35: scritto in "humanistic cursive" per Cosimo forse dopo il 1418 (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 94 n. 8 e tav. 50).
14. Firenze, Bibl. Naz., Conv. Soppr. I.VII.18: scritto in "humanistic cursive" per Cosimo forse dopo il 1418 (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 94 n. 10).
15. Firenze, Laur. 79, 7: scritto per Cosimo forse dopo il 1418 (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 94 n. 11).
16. Firenze, Ricc. 500: manoscritto non datato ma con il nome del copista "Ioannes Arretinus" (Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 95 n. 12).
17. Firenze, Laur. 79, 11: manoscritto copiato a Venezia e riferito ad un periodo posteriore agli anni dei codici datati da Ullman, *The Origin* cit., n. 13; cf. Regoliosi, *Nuove ricerche* cit., p. 133.
18. Vat. lat. 3237: datato "M.T.C. Orator Explicit Feliciter. Ioannes Arretinus Absolvit .VIII. KL. Ianuar. .MCCCCXXII. Salvatoris Anno, Venetiis" (c. 193), il manoscritto è stato attribuito a Giovanni Tortelli da Ullman, *The origin* cit., p. 95 n. 6, e assegnato invece al nostro Giovanni dalla Regoliosi, *Nuove ricerche* cit., pp. 131-132 e tav. XII, 2; cf. Alexander-De La Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts* cit., p. xxiv n. 4.
19. Imotski (Iugoslavia), Convento francescano, ms.s.s.: copiato a Venezia nel 1422 per Francesco Barbaro, ritenuto del Tortelli da Ullman, *The Origin* cit., p. 95 n. 6, che ne aveva avuto notizia, e attribuito invece al nostro Giovanni dalla Regoliosi, *Nuove ricerche* cit., pp. 131-132 e tav. XII, 1; cf. Alexander-De La Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts* cit., p. xxiv n. 4.
20. London, British Library, Harl. 5248: scritto a Venezia nel 1423 (Alexander-De La Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts* cit., p. xxiv n. 4).

Un confronto fra la *antiqua* e la "humanistic cursive"¹⁶ attestate nei codici sicuramente copiati da Giovanni Aretino (tav. II b) e la scrittura più calligrafica di ser Giovanni di Cenni rileva molte, troppe, e puntuali

¹⁶ La definizione, come si è detto, è dell'Ullman ed è ben chiarita nel suo valore, relativamente ai codici, da Casamassima, *Literulae latinae* (cf. n. 2), p. XXIII; le "lontane influenze" della corsiva notarile di questa sperimentazione erano state acutamente intuite da Cencetti, *Lineamenti* (cf. n. 2), pp. 272-273.



Tav. II b: Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale, Conv. Soppr. I. VII. 18, c. 1.

coincidenze: la stessa *g* a “large lower bowl”¹⁷; la stessa ‘arricciata’ legatura *ct*; l’uso della *s* maiuscola in fine di parola¹⁸; una stessa *t* il cui tratto verticale attacca con un piccolo uncino a sinistra, il quale toccando il tratto orizzontale forma come un minuscolo nodo; le aste di *b*, *h* ed *l* diritte e coronate di un piccolo bottone oppure toccate all’apice da un breve trattino a formare forcilla; le stesse *f* ed *s* ‘bastarde’ — usate nei codici solo in quelli in “humanistic cursive”, e l’aggettivo è assolutamente equivoco, essendo quel tratteggio tipico della tradizione cancelleresca italiana —, lievissime e con l’ingrossamento a metà dell’altezza delle lettere; la stessa misura e lo stesso andamento degli svolazzi al tratto finale di *m* ed *n* nei codici in “humanistic cursive” e nelle *Deliberazioni del Consiglio generale* (c. 25 sup.); gli stessi modelli maiuscoli per *A*, con tre trattini di coronamento dei quali uno al vertice, per *Q*, tonda e con lunga coda sinuosa, per *R*, con trattino di coronamento in basso e un sottile filamento aggiunto

¹⁷ De La Mare, *Humanistic Script* (cf. n. 2), p. 103: si tratta di un “early type of *g*” usato da Giovanni.

¹⁸ In un secondo momento, però, il copista userà la *s* minuscola diritta, v., per esempio, il Vat. lat. 3237 (nr. 18 della lista dei codici).

in alto a sinistra del tratto verticale; in ambedue le scritture, lo stesso peso, lo stesso corpo, lo stesso tratteggio vellicato e ritmato¹⁹. Si aggiunga, infine, oltre l'uso del dittongo già notato, la preferenza per la grafia "Ioannes", prevalente nei codici, assoluta nella documentazione.

Così, se non ci si inganna, quel copista tanto misterioso — "he was a man we should like to know more about" dichiara l'Ullman²⁰ — comincia ad avere un abbozzo di identità, se pur appena riscoperta. Ad aggiungere qualche tratto, si può dire che suo padre Cenni di Nome "de Aretio" aveva già svolto, fra XIV e XV secolo, un qualche ruolo nella vita pubblica della città di Arezzo, come "familiaris dominorum priorum" per i quali aveva assunto diversi incarichi di "nunptius" presso la signoria di Firenze²¹. Il figlio Giovanni doveva essersi preparato ad una carriera nello stesso ambito come notaio e come giurista²² e forse, ma questo in via di congettura, aveva studiato anche a Firenze, città nella quale il padre si muoveva con disinvoltura e dove alla cerchia dei Coluccio Salutati, Niccolò Niccoli, Poggio Bracciolini, Ambrogio Traversari apparteneva un altro aretino, e grande, Leonardo Bruni, ancora legato alla città natale, nella quale di tanto in tanto ritornava²³. E a tali personaggi, comunque, Giovanni doveva essere stato vicino già nel primo decennio del secolo, se i primi suoi codici datati e in umanistica sono del 1410, precedenti quindi alla iscrizione nella matricola aretina e al cancellierato; tanto che non sembra stonare con quel che si intravede della sua esistenza e dei suoi rapporti l'affettuosa e complice familiarità con la quale Traversari accenna a Niccoli della visita di un Giovanni Aretino copista, che gli racconterà poi a quattr'occhi: "Hodie mecum diutius fuit Ioannes Arretinus librarius, multaque invicem contulimus. Sed ea tibi reservo, dum coram aderis. Levis est ut solet; sed eum dimittamus"²⁴. Siamo sempre lì, in fondo:

¹⁹ La De La Mare, *Humanistic Script* (cf. n. 2), p. 103, definisce come "curly" lo stile dei manoscritti di Giovanni posteriori al 1412/13.

²⁰ Ullman, *The Origin* (cf. n. 2) p. 96.

²¹ Si trovano parecchie deliberazioni delle magistrature aretine relative al "salarium" da pagarsi a Cenni per le sue missioni a Firenze, per esempio nel 1396, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1405 (A.S.A., *Deliberazioni del Consiglio generale*, n. 3, cc. 107', 159, 172, 184', 191', 209; *ivi*, n. 4, c. 65).

²² V., di seguito, la n. 35.

²³ Basti la voce di C. Vasoli, nel *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 14 (Roma, 1972), pp. 618-633.

²⁴ *Epist.* VIII, 29 (cf. G. Mercati, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti*, fasc. I: *Traversariana*. Studi e testi, 90, (Città del Vaticano, 1939), p. 21 n. 4). La lettera è del 1424; Giovanni è a Venezia fino al 1423 (cf. nr. 20 della lista dei codici).

il circolo solito e noto degli intellettuali fiorentini, cresciuti negli studi retorici, notarili, giuridici; umanisti, e molti notai e cancellieri²⁵, restauratori lucidi, nel segno di ideali comuni, di una *littera antiqua*. Così ser Giovanni, non proprio e solo un “professional scribe”²⁶, ma anche lui notaio, anche lui cancelliere, certo su un palcoscenico non del prestigio fiorentino ma pur sempre di qualche rilievo.

A questo proposito vale forse la pena di ricordare brevemente che Arezzo era l’erede, se pur fiaccata dalle lotte cittadine del secolo XIV e dalla conquista fiorentina, di una tradizione culturale, che si va rivelando niente affatto mediocre nelle sue esperienze retoriche, giuridiche, notarili, letterarie e scrittorie: dagli inizi del secolo XI alla metà del XII le testimonianze fanno capo alla scuola d’arti della cattedrale e ad una qualche ‘scuola’ notarile²⁷. Dalla fine del secolo XII a tutto il XIII il filo conduttore, ora cittadino, è retto ancora dal notariato, da uno *Studium* precoce — con tutto ciò che significava —, da un circolare di dettatori fra i primi in Toscana²⁸. Ancora nel secolo XIV, alcuni segnali stanno ad indicare il persistere di interessi culturali da tempo radicati²⁹. Quanto alla realtà politica, istituzionale, giurisdizionale e amministrativa di Arezzo dopo la sottomissione a Firenze e quindi l’inserimento in uno Stato regionale, essa non è stata affatto indagata; si può ipotizzare, però, che “nel riassetto giurisdizionale e amministrativo di tutto il dominio”, che Firenze operò a cavallo tra XIV e XV secolo proprio attraverso le magistrature e gli uffici, la circoscrizione di Arezzo avesse un suo rilievo e il cancellierato aretino una qualche importanza³⁰.

²⁵ Sembra superfluo rinviare al Marzi, *La cancelleria fiorentina* (cf. n. 7), al notissimo E. Garin, “I cancellieri umanisti della Repubblica fiorentina da Coluccio Salutati a Bartolomeo Scala”, rist. in *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano. Ricerche e documenti*, (Firenze, 1961), pp. 3-27, e ancora al noto L. Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1400* (Princeton, 1963), che dedica anche un breve profilo a Giovanni copista alle pp. 325-326.

²⁶ Così lo definiscono Hunt, *Humanistic Script* (cf. n. 15), p. 273, e De La Mare, *The Handwriting* (cf. n. 2), p. 49, ambedue con un dubbio; Martines, *The Social World* cit., p. 326, si aspettava che Giovanni avesse studiato da notaio.

²⁷ G. Nicolaj Petronio, “Per una storia della documentazione vescovile aretina dei secoli XI-XIII. Appunti paleografici e diplomatici”, *Annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari dell’Università di Roma*, 17-18 (1977-78), 65-171.

²⁸ Mi limito a rinviare a E. Wieruszowski, “Arezzo centro di studi e di cultura nel XIII secolo”, *Atti e Memorie dell’Accademia Petrarca*, 39 (1968-69), 1-82 e a Nicolaj Petronio, *Per una storia* (cf. n. 27).

²⁹ L. Miglio, “Un codice trecentesco della ‘Commedia’ ancora poco conosciuto. Descrizione, analisi ed ipotesi”, *Studi danteschi*, 53 (in corso di stampa); Nicolaj Petronio, *Notariato aretino* (cf. n. 1).

³⁰ V. su ciò il bel saggio di G. Chittolini, “Ricerche sull’ordinamento territoriale del dominio fiorentino agli inizi del secolo XV”, ora in *La formazione dello Stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado, sec. XIV-XV* (Torino, 1979), pp. 292-352, che però si occupa solo delle province nordoccidentali — Pistoia, Pisa e Lunigiana.

La vita e l'educazione di ser Giovanni chiariscono anche, insieme alla caratteristica personale di un'inventiva non banale, il paradigma della sua vicenda di scrittore e copista: abituato ad una scrittura usuale propria di un sistema — la corsiva notarile —, canonizzatasi o quanto meno tipizzatasi in espressioni librarie³¹ — le cancelleresche —, Giovanni sperimenta e concretizza una scrittura canonizzata d'altro sistema — la *antiqua*; lungo una scala di espressioni grafiche intermedie, tenta poi consapevolmente mediazioni fra i sistemi (negli atti cancellereschi) o semplici innesti (nei codici in "humanistic cursive"). In questa ricerca allo stato nascente³², precorre di alcuni anni il Niccoli

³¹ Uso questi concetti e questi termini — canone, scrittura usuale, sistema — così come sono stati posti e lungamente elaborati da Giorgio Cencetti (v., per esempio, "Vecchi e nuovi orientamenti nello studio della paleografia", *La Bibliofilia*, 50 (1948), 4-23; *Lineamenti* (cf. n. 2), pp. 51-56, e ancora da ultimo *La Paleografia del bibliotecario*, Lezione tenuta il 15 aprile 1967 e il 5 novembre 1969 ai corsi di aggiornamento per bibliotecari presso la Scuola speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma, ed. ciclostilata; ma v. anche A. Pratesi, s.v. "Paleografia", in *Enciclopedia italiana*, III Append., II [Roma, 1961]), perché mi sembrano insuperati come chiavi interpretative dei processi scrittori. Quanto al concetto di canone, esso è stato reso più sostanzioso e flessibile da Pratesi, "Considerazioni su alcuni codici in capitale della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana", in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, VII/2 (Studi e testi, 237), (Città del Vaticano, 1964), pp. 243-254, che ha dimostrato la necessità di riconoscere all'interno di un canone di scrittura stili o tipizzazioni — l'autore si riferisce al canone della capitale romana, ma sono convinta che tale esigenza valga come principio generale; ed è stato ancora trattato da me in "Osservazioni sul canone della capitale libraria romana fra I e III secolo", in *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti* (Torino, 1973), 3-28 (p. 15-16), che ho proposto di leggere un canone anche in chiave evolutiva, nei suoi rapporti dialettici (pur limitati dalla sua stessa natura) con la usuale che si modifica nel tempo: così, non avrei paura di parlare di un canone della cancelleresca italiana.

³² Le sperimentazioni di Giovanni sembrano comunque muoversi tra i due poli rappresentati dalla sua originaria educazione grafica e dalla avventura umanistica. Ciò ripropone l'opinione espressa anni fa da A. Campana, "Codici orsiniani e altri della Basilica di S. Pietro rilegati nel 1587; frammenti ebraici", in appendice a C. Questa, *De duobus codicibus olim Iordani Ursini cardinalis hebraice subscriptis*, Note e discussioni erudite, 6 (Roma, 1957), p. 20 n. 6, che il codice basilicano in bastarda stretta e formata non sia di mano di Giovanni; anche se non può escludersi categoricamente il ghiribizzo di un calligrafo, questo sembra ora ancor più improbabile (e la bastarda, poi, non sembra neanche di mano italiana, come già rilevò il Campana). Inoltre, la sottoscrizione al basilicano reca "ego Iohannes origine Florentinus ... qui Arretinus dicor", caso già unico per il copista che si indica sempre come "Ioannes Arretinus" e fonte, poi, di ulteriori perplessità alla luce delle poche notizie che ora abbiamo su di lui. Giovanni, infatti, nella documentazione aretina si dichiara "civis Aretinus", ma questo potrebbe significare poco, se la cittadinanza fosse stata presa per accedere alle cariche aretine; il fatto è che aretino sembra anche il padre Cenni: se anche non si può escludere che dopo la conquista fiorentina, così come si verificò un flusso di aretini verso Firenze (vedi Leonardo Bruni), ci sia stata una corrente inversa, e proprio nell'ambito degli apparati politici, amministrativi e burocratici per normalizzare il

e forse un qualche po' gli lascia alcune soluzioni: alcune tipicità del secondo — la *R* maiuscola che generalmente ha “a longish leading-in stroke projecting to the left at the top”³³ o la caratteristica che “the tops of ascenders generally curl to the right to form a kern”³⁴ — sono già in Giovanni.

Finito il cancellierato³⁵ e passata la meteora aretina, Giovanni torna a Firenze, come indicano i codici da lui scritti; più tardi andrà a Venezia. Ora che il suo nome acquista una fisionomia, sarà possibile saperne di più?

Università di Siena

controllo e la ‘colonizzazione’ fiorentini, quel “Cenni Nomis de Aretio”, però (A.S.A., *Deliberazioni dei Priori e del Consiglio generale*, n. 3, c. 107), fa pensare piuttosto a un personaggio e ad una famiglia locali.

³³ De La Mare, *Handwriting* (cf. n. 2), p. 51 e tav. Xa (si veda anche la A).

³⁴ De La Mare, *Handwriting* (cf. n. 2), p. 51 e tav. XIId.

³⁵ A.S.A., *Estrazioni degli Uffici pubblici di Città*, n. 6, cc. 11-12: il 27 febbraio 1411 il nome di “dominus Ioannes Cennis Nomis” — e si guardi al titolo di “dominus” che indicherebbe un giurista — viene estratto per il priorato del bimestre successivo; poi viene estratto come notaio del tribunale civile — e questa volta con il titolo di “ser” —, ma Giovanni rinuncia in favore del priorato; quindi è ancora sorteggiato come notaio di Camera — di nuovo con il titolo di “ser” — e rinuncia nuovamente per il priorato; infine, e senza spiegazioni, si estrae un suo sostituto al priorato, e non so se ciò possa giustificarsi con un eventuale divieto per il cancelliere e notaio dei priori di assumere immediatamente altri incarichi — possibile, ma non emerso prima — o con una rinuncia del sorteggiato per altri suoi motivi.

Jürgen LEONHARDT

NICCOLÒ PEROTTI UND DIE «ARS VERSIFICANDI»
VON CONRAD CELTIS

Die *Ars versificandi et carminum* von Conrad Celtis (1486) ist die erste lateinische Metrik auf deutschem Boden, in der neben Hexameter und Pentameter auch die Vielfalt der lyrischen Versmaße behandelt wird. Ein nicht unbeträchtlicher Teil der Beispielverse ist der Lyrik des Horaz entnommen¹. Hierin zeigt Celtis seinen humanistischen Anspruch: die Erneuerung der antiken Verskunst und die ausgiebige Beschäftigung mit den horazischen Oden — im Mittelalter hatten die Satiren im Vordergrund gestanden — ging von den italienischen Humanisten des 15. Jahrhunderts aus. In Italien hatte Rudolf Agricola studiert, den Celtis 1484/85 in Heidelberg hörte, und ihm verdankt er auch die entscheidenden Anregungen für seine *ars versificandi*. Dies wird von Celtis selbst in einem kurzen, in Distichen abgefaßten Vorwort «ad lectorem» deutlich ausgesprochen. Daß daneben auch die mittelalterliche Theorie bei Celtis noch eine Rolle spielt, wurde des öfteren hervorgehoben². Insbesondere die Anlehnung an das *Doctrinale* des Alexander de Villa Dei, die bis zur wörtlichen Übereinstimmung mancher Stellen reicht, forderte zur Kritik an Celtis' humanistischem Anspruch heraus³. Was Celtis wirklich an Neuem brachte, wurde dabei ganz pauschal dem Unterricht Agricolas zugewiesen⁴.

Der humanistische Einfluß auf Celtis läßt sich jedoch noch genauer fassen: vor der Abfassung der *ars versificandi* muß er auch die Metriktheorie Niccolò Perottis (1429-1480) kennengelernt haben. Dessen Traktat *De generibus metrorum*, in der Metrik das Hauptwerk des Jahrhun-

¹ S. auch E. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz* (Wiesbaden, 1976), S. 3.

² F. Pindter, *Die Lyrik des Conrad Celtis*, Diss. (masch.) (Wien, 1930), S. 11.

³ G. Bauch, »Die Anfänge des Studiums der griechischen Sprache und Litteratur in Norddeutschland«, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, VI (1896), S. 164 f.; K. L. Preiß, *Konrad Celtis und der italienische Humanismus*, Diss. (masch.) (Wien, 1951), S. 23 ff.

⁴ Preiß a.a.O., S. 28.

derts⁵, entstand 1453 zusammen mit einer anderen Abhandlung *De Horatii et Boethii metris* und war recht verbreitet⁶. Seit 1470 gab es auch eine Reihe von gedruckten Ausgaben⁷. Celtis kann diese Schrift, eventuell durch Agricolas Vermittlung, also ohne weiteres gekannt haben.

Ein Vergleich von Perottis *De generibus metrorum* mit Celtis' *Ars versificandi* zeigt nun, daß beide Traktate in einer ganzen Passage nahezu wörtlich miteinander übereinstimmen. Es ist dies der Abschnitt über die «*accidentia carminum*», der bei Celtis gegen Ende des Traktates steht. Bei Perotti finden sich diese Ausführungen im ersten, einleitenden Teil und sind dort auf «*metrum*», nicht auf «*carmen*» bezogen. Die Gegenüberstellung von Teilen aus diesem Abschnitt mag die enge Zusammengehörigkeit verdeutlichen⁸:

Perotti

Metrum est connexio quaedam atque ordinatio pedum ad delectationem aurium inventa. Metro accidunt septem: genus, species, compositio, caesura, magnitudo, figura et depositio. Genus metri appellamus mutuam contrarium iuncturam et veluti quandam inter se affinitatem, ut si dactylicum anapaestico coniungatur; cuius iuncturae tres species sunt: prima diadicum trisemum a graecis dicitur ut trochaicum et iambicum. Secunda diadi-

Celtis

Carmen ut supra diffinivimus est quod legitimum numerum pedum habet ut Hexametrum sex Pentametrum quinque... Pro quo non pretereundum est, quod carmini septem accidunt. Genus scilicet, species, compositio, caesura, magnitudo, figura et depositio. Genus carminis appellamus mutuam contrarium carminum iuncturam et veluti quandam inter se affinitatem ut si choriambicum glyconico iungatur ut in illo *Festum nunc celebre*⁹. Dicolon erit,

⁵ R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese* (Catania, 1896), S. 80.

⁶ ebda.; eine Aufzählung von Handschriften, die den Traktat enthalten, gibt R.P. Oliver, *N. Perotti's Version of the Enchiridion of Epictetus, Edited With an Introduction and a List of Perotti's Writings* (Urbana/Illinois, 1954), S. 147 und 148.

⁷ Meist zusammen mit *De Horatii et Boethii metris*; auch zusammen mit Metriktrakten anderer Autoren sowie als Anhang zu einigen Ausgaben von Perottis verbreitetstem Werk, den *Rudimenta grammatices*, die allein im 15. Jahrhundert etwa 60 Ausgaben erlebten.

⁸ Beide Traktate sind bislang nicht in Neuausgaben zugänglich; eine Neuausgabe von Celtis ist angekündigt (s. *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 23 [1974], S. 398). Der Text der folgenden Zitate stützt sich für Celtis auf die 2. Ausgabe (1494; Hain 4845), für Perotti auf den Monac. lat. 3604 sowie zwei gedruckte Ausgaben des 15. Jahrhunderts (Venedig 1491 = Hain 10892 und s.a.e.l. = Hain 12639).

⁹ Hrabanus Maurus, *Hymnus ad matutinum*, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, rec. E. Duemmler, Tom. II (Berlin, 1884), S. 249-250. Die erste Strophe lautet:

Festum nunc celebre magnaue gaudia
compellunt animos carmina promere
cum Christus solium scandit ad arduum
caelorum pium arbiter.

cum tetrasemum ut dactylicum et anapaesticum. Tertia tetradicum hexasemum ut antipasticum et choriambicum¹⁰. Species metri dicitur qualitas metrica, per quam species ipsa constituitur ut trochaicum anapaesticum. Sunt autem metrorum species decem: trochaicum, iambicum, dactylicum, anapaesticum, choriambicum, ionicum a maiori, ionicum a minori, paeonicum, antipasticum et anacreontium. Compositio est ipsa dispositio pedum, per quam discernimus simplexne an compositum id metrum sit. Simplex namque est, cum versus pedes omnes similes habet ut *Stat sua cuique dies brevis et irreparabile tempus*¹¹. Compositum vero, cum ex diversis constat ut *Cornua velatarum obvertimus antennarum*¹².

unde et monocola sunt carmina, quae unimembra sunt vel uniformia...

Species carminis dicitur qualitas metri, per quam ipsa species constituitur ut Trochaicum Anapaesticum ut in figuris nobis visum est.

Compositio est ipsa dispositio pedum, per quam discernimus simplex an ne compositum sit. Simplex namque est, cum versus pedes omnes similes habet ut *Stat sua cuique dies brevis et irreparabile tempus*. Compositum vero, cum ex diversis constat ut *Cornua velatarum obvertimus antennarum*.

Gegenüber Perottis Text fehlt also bei Celtis manches, anderes ist dagegen zusätzlich eingefügt. Die sich entsprechenden Teile stimmen jedoch nahezu wörtlich überein. An einer anderen Stelle weichen die Texte etwas mehr voneinander ab; dennoch läßt auch hier die Zusammengehörigkeit klar erkennen:

Perotti

Depositionem appellamus uniuscuiusque metri desinentiam. Sunt autem depositiones quattuor. Dicimus enim omne metrum aut brachycatalecticum aut catalecticum aut acatalecticum aut hypercatalecticum esse. Brachycatalecticum est, cui ut perfectum sit deest integer pes ut in illo Aristophanico $\phi\epsilon\upsilon \phi\epsilon\upsilon$ Necesse est enim alienigenis utamur exemplis ubi non succurrunt nostra. Hoc quippe monometrum brachycatalecticum est,

Celtis

Depositionem vocamus uniuscuiusque metri desinentiam. Sunt autem depositiones quattuor. Dicimus enim

Brachycatalecticum carmen, cui ut perfectum sit, deest integer pes, quo greci utuntur.

¹⁰ Zur Erläuterung dieser Stelle s. Anm. 20.

¹¹ Verg., *Aen.* X 467.

¹² Verg., *Aen.* III 549.

quod pedem unum habet, altero deficit. Catalecticum dicitur, cui una tantummodo deest syllaba ut apud Horatium: *Mea renidet in domo lacunar*¹³. Est enim senarium iambicum una syllaba minus.

Catalecticum, cui tantummodo una sillaba deest, Oracius *Mea renidet in domo lacunar*. Est enim senarium iambicum una sillaba minus.

Allein bei der Besprechung der «figura» bringt Celtis einen völlig anderen Text als Perotti. Bezeichnenderweise ist aber bei Celtis dieser Abschnitt entgegen der zu Anfang genannten Reihenfolge hinter «depositio» an den Schluß der ganzen Stelle gesetzt.

Die genannten Übereinstimmungen legen die Annahme nahe, daß die entsprechenden Stellen bei Celtis unmittelbar aus Perottis Traktat übernommen sind. Zur Sicherheit wird diese Vermutung jedoch erst, wenn sich zeigen läßt, daß die Möglichkeit einer gemeinsamen Vorlage für Celtis und Perotti auszuschließen ist. Welche Quellen also hat Perotti seinen Ausführungen zugrunde gelegt?

Die Zusammenstellung dieser sieben Akzidentien findet sich nicht bei den antiken lateinischen Grammatikern¹⁴. In der Widmung seines Traktates spricht Perotti jedoch davon, daß ihn die schlechte Überlieferung der lateinischen Metriktheoretiker gezwungen habe, auch griechische Quellen heranzuziehen¹⁵. Bei Perotti als dem Schüler des Vittorino da Feltre, dem Freund Bessarions und eifrigen Übersetzer aus dem Griechischen¹⁶ sind solche Hinweise ernst zu nehmen. Tatsächlich geht gerade die hier besprochene Stelle fast vollständig auf byzantinische Metriktheorie zurück. Die Zusammenstellung der sieben Akzidentien des Metrums findet sich dort an drei Stellen: in einem anonymen Traktat über Metrum und Versfüße¹⁷, in den sogenannten *Anecdota Chisiana*¹⁸

¹³ Hor., *Carm.* II 18.2.

¹⁴ Bei Priscian, *Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium*, Grammatici Latini, ed. H. Keil, III, S. 459, sind zusammen genus, species, compositio und depositio genannt. Genus und species werden jedoch dort in anderer Bedeutung als bei Perotti verwendet.

¹⁵ »... Qua in re incredibile dictu est quos sustinuimus labores, adeo quippe omnia non solum praecepta, verum etiam pedum ac metrorum nomina corrupta erant, ut necesse fuerit compluris non solum latinos, verum etiam graecos ad ea comperienda libros evolvere...«.

¹⁶ Eine Aufzählung seiner Übersetzungen findet sich bei Oliver (s. Anm. 6), S. 138-145.

¹⁷ Hephaestionis *Enchiridion cum commentariis veteribus*, ed. M. Consbruch (Leipzig, 1906), S. 356.

¹⁸ *Anecdota Chisiana de re metrica*, ed. Guil. Mangelsdorf (Gymnasialprogramm Karlsruhe, 1876), § 10 (S. 20).

und bei Pseudo-Hephaestion¹⁹. Diese letzte Stelle stimmt in großen Teilen wörtlich mit Perotti überein; der Beginn sei hier zitiert:

Μέτρον ἐστὶ ποδῶν ἢ βάσεων σύνταξις, αἰσθήσει τῆς ἀκοῆς παραλαμβανόμενον. Παρέπεται δὲ τῷ μέτρῳ ἑπτὰ γένος, εἶδος, σύνταξις, τομή, μέγεθος, σχέσις καὶ ἀπόθεσις. Γένος οὖν μέτρου φαμέν τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν ἀντιπαθῶν ἐπιπλοκὴν, ὡς δακτυλικοῦ πρὸς ἀνάπαιστον. ἐπιπλοκὴν γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα συγγένειαν τῶν μέτρων ἢ τῶν μετρικῶν εἰδῶν. εἶδη δὲ ἐπιπλοκῆς τρία: δυαδικὸν τρίσημον, ὡς τροχαϊκὸν καὶ ἰαμβικόν· δυαδικὸν τετράσημον, ὡς δακτυλικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀναπαιστικόν. τετραδικὸν ἐξάσημον, ὡς τὸ ἀντισπαστικόν, χοριαμβικόν²⁰ ...

Den Erläuterungen zu den übrigen Akzidentien liegen bei Perotti auch noch andere griechische Quellen zugrunde; so wird z.B. φεῦ φεῦ als brachykatalektischer jambischer Monometer in den Hephaestionscholien zitiert²¹. Es genügt für unseren Zweck jedoch zu zeigen, daß die fragliche Stelle bei Perotti überhaupt griechische Quellen voraussetzt. Aus mehreren Gründen ist damit nämlich erwiesen, daß Celtis in seiner *ars versificandi* aus Perotti schöpft: zum einen ist Celtis, der damals noch keine große Erfahrung im Griechischen haben konnte²², die Kenntnis

¹⁹ Pseudo-Hephaestion *de metris*, ed. H. zur Jacobsmühlen (Straßburg, 1886), § 45 (S. 286).

²⁰ Zur ἐπιπλοκὴ s. vor allem R. Westphal, *Griechische Rhythmik* [= A. Rossbach und R. Westphal, *Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen*, Band 1] (Leipzig, 1885), S. 212ff.

Ἐπιπλοκὴ ist die Zusammenfassung aller Versfüße, die aus gleich vielen kleinsten Zeiteinheiten (σημεῖα, daher τρίσημος etc.) bestehen; eine Länge entspricht zwei Zeiteinheiten. Δυαδικὴ heißt die ἐπιπλοκὴ τρίσημος, weil sie zwei Versfüße umfaßt: Trochäus und Jambus. Die ἐπιπλοκὴ ἐξάσημος ist τετραδικὴ, da sie neben den hier genannten Versfüßen noch die beiden Joniker enthält; das Fehlen des verbindenden „καὶ“ zwischen ἀντισπαστικόν und χοριαμβικόν in unserem Text legt nahe, daß in der Überlieferung „ἰωνικὸς ἀπὸ μείζονος, ἰωνικὸς ἀπ’ ἐλάσσονος“ ausgefallen ist. Schon Perotti scheint die Stelle nicht verstanden zu haben; seine Übersetzung ist jedenfalls ziemlich unklar. Celtis konnte vollends nichts mehr mit ihr anfangen. Er läßt die „species iuncturae“ (εἶδη ἐπιπλοκῆς), die bei Perotti noch aufgezählt sind, weg und interpretiert den Rest neu: unter „iunctura“ versteht er die Zusammenfügung verschiedener metrischer Einheiten zu einem neuen Vers, wie in seinem Beispiel die Verbindung von Glykoneus und Choriambus zu einem Asklepiadeus. — Auf den Beispielsvers bezieht sich auch die Bemerkung über carmina dicola und monocola, die Celtis anschließend einschleibt. „Dicolon“ ist der Hymnus des Hrabanus Maurus, weil jede Strophe aus zwei verschiedenen metrischen Kola (Asklepiadeus und Glykoneus) besteht.

²¹ Consbruch (s. Anm. 17) S. 267; vgl. auch Choeroboscus, Consbruch S. 228.

²² Zu Celtis' Griechischkenntnissen s. auch Preiß a.a.O. (s. Anm. 3), S. 27.

der byzantinischen Traktate grundsätzlich nicht zuzutrauen. Zum anderen ist fraglich, ob er die entsprechenden Quellen damals in Deutschland finden konnte. Vor allem aber lassen sich die wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen des lateinischen Textes auf dem Hintergrund von Perottis Quellen nur noch mit der Abhängigkeit des Celtis von Perotti erklären.

Es zeigt sich also, daß Celtis in seinen Metrikstudien auf der Höhe seiner Zeit war. Er kannte nicht nur die mittelalterlichen Schulbücher, sondern auch die bis dahin wichtigste Metrikschrift des Humanismus. Das neue, humanistische Gedankengut, das Celtis in der *Ars versificandi* brachte, war schließlich auch dafür ausschlaggebend, daß er für dieses Werk 1487 als erster Deutscher von Kaiser Friedrich III. mit dem Dichterlorbeer gekrönt wurde.

Tübingen.

James Michael WEISS

THE SIX LIVES OF RUDOLPH AGRICOLA:
FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE HUMANIST BIOGRAPHY *

Among the genres of biography newly conceived or revived in the Renaissance, the humanists' biographies of other humanists held a special importance. The traditional form of the biography for scholars since Suetonius and St. Jerome had been the collection of entries in a *De Viris Illustribus* catalogue. While these did not disappear after the fourteenth century, their role was usurped and their content altered by the emergence of the individual biography of a single humanist, a self-contained interpretative description of his life not intended for insertion in a catalogue or collection ¹.

* Research for this essay was made possible by a generous fellowship from the Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Abteilung Religionsgeschichte, Mainz. The essay was presented as a lecture at the International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Bologna, in August, 1979.

¹ No monograph covers in depth the question of humanist biographical writing during the early modern period. Hence, these bibliographical suggestions refer to works which, although limited in scope, raise good questions, offer insightful analyses, and suggest fruitful paths of inquiry. Among works currently available, Karl Joachim Weintraub's *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* (Chicago, 1978) raises questions relevant for this study in chapters five through eight. I would also signal the significant discussion of Italian Renaissance biography, which should exercise significant influence on any future discussion of the issue, to appear in Eric Cochrane's study of Italian Renaissance historiography (in press, University of Chicago Press). I thank Professor Cochrane for letting me consult his work in manuscript. An exemplary monograph of more immediate relevance for German humanist studies is Friederich Stähelin's *Humanismus und Reformation im bürgerlichen Raum. Eine Untersuchung der biographischen Schriften des Joachim Camerarius* (Leipzig, 1936). Also suggestive are Marie Schütt, *Die englische Biographik der Tudor-Zeit* (Hamburg, 1930), and Massimo Miglio, *Storiografia Pontificia del Quattrocento* (Bologna, 1975). Above all the available articles, the most influential in my thought has been the subtle and stimulating study by Margaret Mann Phillips, "Erasmus and Biography", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 42 (1973), 185-201. Also essential for understanding the issue of humanists' biographies of each other is Carlo Alberto Madrignani, "Di alcune Biografie umanistiche di Dante e Petrarca", *Belfagor*, 18 (1963), 29-48. See also, by the present writer, "Johannes Fichardus and the Development of Humanist Biography", in J.-C. Margolin (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis*

The immediate expansion of this kind of biography became one of the most original achievements by the humanists. In addition to the intrinsic interest of their literary experiments, their biographies of each other provide a continuing commentary on their estimates of each other and of the humanist movement in general. The aim of individual biography — whether that of humanists or of any other kind of person — extended beyond simple instruction in data to include the moral and intellectual edification of the reader. Just as the prince could learn how to rule by reading histories of his predecessors, so students and scholars could derive good examples of the studious life from the lives of philosophers and poets. In shaping their colleagues' life stories to meet these ends, the humanist biographers found an instrument to express their own view of the proper goals of a life of learning. In this way, the decision to write a fellow humanist's biography entailed the responsibility to express one's own understanding of the general ends of humanistic studies. This usually drew the biographer further to reflect on that aspect of the humanist movement in which he or his biographical subject were particularly engaged, be it pedagogical innovation, Church reform, or political programs. These biographers did not, then, claim to write from a disinterested standpoint; and their highest aim was not the comprehensiveness of their information but persuasion toward their goals. Some biographies even indicate that their authors dispensed with a goal of strict accuracy. But if accuracy could be dispensed with, the author's engagement could not.

These persuasive and pragmatic functions account for and were in turn furthered by the wide variety of forms available for composing biographies². The selection of a specific literary form for a biography was not a conventional or extraneous matter. For humanist biographers, as for all other humanists, literary form was an integral element in the

(Paris, 1980), pp. 263-275. On the immediate question of biographies about Agricola, of course, much insight might be gained from studies of Agricola's biography of Petrarch. The older article by Ludwig Bertalot, "Rudolf Agricolas Lobrede auf Petrarca", *La Bibliofilia*, 30 (1928), 382-404, and republished in L. Bertalot, *Studien zum Italienischen und Deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller (Rome, 1975), II, pp. 1-30, presents the major issues and answers, along with Bertalot's edition of Agricola's text. Theodor Mommsen's "Rudolph Agricola's Life of Petrarch", *Traditio*, 8 (1952), 367-386, pursues suggestions and confirms conclusions found in Bertalot. The reader may also wish to consult the present writer's unpublished dissertation (University of Chicago, 1979/80) *Friendship and Rhetoric: The Development of Humanists' Biographies in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, in which an extended version of this article appears as chapter three.

² These are succinctly discussed by Phillips.

meaning of any work, and not a mere vehicle for content. Such forms as memoirs, letters, orations, and prefaces were not only conveniences suited to different occasions; they could also imply whether their author had intended a larger or a smaller audience, and thereby indicated the degree to which the author intended his subject's life and virtues to be publicized or generalized. This degree of publicity or privacy also implicitly clued the reader in to the relative accuracy he might expect in the information conveyed. An informal memoir in a personal letter might be less complete or less accurate than an official *Vita* published as a preface to the subject's collected *Opera*³.

In writing the biography of Rudolph Agricola, German humanists of three generations clearly followed this pattern. In the half-dozen biographies written in the 53 years after his death, they found occasions to articulate the nature and aims of the humanist movement in Germany. That is, they did not simply praise what he had done, but did so in the course of selecting and interpreting elements from his life according to their own views of humanism and the exigencies of their own specific situations. As a group, these biographies demonstrated not only the ends, but the means of persuasive and pragmatic biography, for they also employed a variety of literary forms to discuss Agricola's life⁴.

It was by any account unusual for one person to receive the tribute of more than one biography, let alone six. Erasmus himself was the subject of only one full contemporary biography⁵. Even renowned German humanists such as Ulrich von Hutten, Johannes Trithemius, and Mutianus Rufus were not remembered in any biography at all⁶. But if

³ In general, the accuracy of a biography cannot be established by reference to its literary genre or to any other single criterion. Rhetorical functions, which I have here called the pragmatic and persuasive functions of biography, so dominated humanist biographical practice that questions of accuracy and completeness must be assessed on an individual basis for each biography. Ironically, it cannot be assumed that the less formal, more private genres are more accurate than the more formal and tendentious ones: official biographers were often at greater pains to establish the facts than intimate friends. The difficulties in assessing the sources for Melanchthon's biographies of Agricola provide a classic case in point. See below, note 34.

⁴ They are discussed in the general biography of Agricola by H. E. J. M. van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola (Roelof Huusman)*, (Leiden, 1911), pp. 1-17.

⁵ Beatus Rhenanus, "Invictissimo Imperatori Caesari Carolo", in P. S. Allen (ed.), *Epistolae Erasmi* (Oxford, 1906), I, pp. 56-71. An English translation by John Olin (ed), in *Christian Humanism and the Reformation* (New York, 1965), pp. 31-54.

⁶ I have found none, nor are any listed in Melchior Adam's citation of his sources for his seventeenth-century biographies of them in *Vitae Theologorum... atque Philosophorum*, 3 vols., 3rd ed. (Frankfurt, 1701-1705).

the amount of attention to Agricola was extraordinary, it was certainly justified by his contemporaries' estimate of him⁷. He was the first "German" humanist of international reputation and the first "German" to be received so warmly at German and foreign universities or to be lionized at so many princely courts. He knew how to draw deeply on the resources of all his places of residence, which included premiere intellectual centers of his day on both sides of the Alps. The principal fruit of these travels and contacts was his *De inventione dialectica*, recognized then and now as a turning point in philosophical method⁸. His contemporaries appreciated his diverse achievements, from his orations on humanist studies to his many minor devotional works. They touted his command of Greek, and the interest in theology which even brought him to study Hebrew shortly before his untimely death.

Recognition of his versatility and accomplishments was not long in coming. His biographers all recognized, tacitly or expressly, that Agricola had single-handedly stirred up many aspects of humanistic interest in Germany, and had imported a number of others from Italy. They also acknowledged that he had shaped the subsequent humanist movement in Germany. Hence, these lives exemplify how rhetorical or interpretative functions dictated a biographer's choice of literary genre, his reference to classical models, and his use of sources. These biographies of Agricola as "founding father" of German humanism also reveal how subsequent generations understood the origins, goals, and accomplishments of the humanist movement in Germany. And finally, they shed some light on Jakob Burckhardt's thesis about Renaissance biography and the modern sense of individuality.

The first biography of Agricola was a traditional catalogue entry written within a decade of his death by Johannes Trithemius, the abbot of Sponheim. It resembled the traditional medieval catalogue entry based on a model of organization which went back to Suetonius' *Lives of the Grammarians*; but it also showed characteristics of the humanistic biography to those who could read between the lines. Actually, Trithemius used it twice, once in his *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* of 1494, then again in his *De Luminaribus Germaniae* of 1495⁹. Trithemius

⁷ A brief introduction to Agricola may be found in Lewis Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 20-40, and in M. A. N. Nauwelaerts, *Rudolphus Agricola* (The Hague, 1963).

⁸ It was issued as part of two volumes, *De Inventione Dialectica* and *Lucubrationes*, ed. Alardus Amstelodamus (Cologne, 1539) (Reprinted, Nieuwkoop, 1967).

⁹ Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, for which I used the edition of

could probably have expanded this biography as much as he wished since he was geographically and personally close to Agricola's friends at Heidelberg. But he apparently proceeded with the entry on Agricola as he did with those of most contemporaries: he drew upon information generally available in his own library and perhaps asked associates for an accurate index of the subject's works. Thus, like all his other entries, those on Agricola were dry, terse, confined to basic aspects of his work which are described with the standard superlatives found in all the other entries and bereft of all serious significance. Indeed, except for one or two insignificant differences of phrasing, the entries were identical. The stock phrase "of all in his time" qualified him first as philosopher and poet in *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, but then as secular literateur in *De Luminaribus Germaniae*¹⁰. Trithemius simply tosses in adjectives as a sort of verbal glue to make his already vague factual matter somehow stick together.

Anyone with previous knowledge of Agricola would nonetheless recognize a few interpretative emphases lurking between the lines. Trithemius called him "expert in Greek and Latin speech, and not ignorant of the Hebrew tongue"¹¹. This is not a rhetorical turn, but reflects the fact that Agricola knew Latin and Greek quite well, but had only begun to learn Hebrew shortly before his death. This knowledge had been unusual in his time and was still rare in Trithemius' day. Hence Trithemius wanted to pay tribute to Agricola's pioneering translations from the Greek philosophers. Similarly, the statement that "he died at Heidelberg with his mind completely directed toward God"¹² is not simply a pious formula. It recalls his central position in intellectual circles at Heidelberg and alludes to the religious cast which Agricola's interest took in the year just before his death, a matter of satisfaction for a fervent Christian humanist such as Trithemius. Trithemius also took some pride in the Italians' admiration of Agricola, a point which Trithemius' contemporaries liked to think shed lustre on the life of letters

Paris: Bertholdus Rembolt & Johannes Parvus, 1512, fols. clxxxviii^v and c(l)xxxix^r; also his *Catalogus illustrium virorum germaniam suis ingeniis... exornantium* (Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1495(?)), fols. liii^v and liiii^r. On Trithemius' real originality, Christel Steffen, "Untersuchungen zum *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* des Johannes Trithemius", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 10 (1970), 1247-1354.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ «...graeci et latini sermonis peritus: et hebraicae linguae non ignarus...», *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, p. clxxxviii^v.

¹² "Moritur Heydelbergae mente in deum porrectissimus". *Ibid.*, p. clxxxix^r.

in the North. He quoted at length the epitaph which the Venetian humanist Ermolao Barbaro had dedicated to Agricola.

But to draw out all these inferences would have gone beyond the requirements of a general bio-bibliographical catalogue. Those standards freed Trithemius from mentioning Agricola's varied travels and his positions in Frisia, Italy, and the Palatinate. In fact, he neither explicitly mentioned Agricola's long years in Italy nor his successes there at all. In the levelling terseness of his genre, he barely sketched Agricola's interests and treated both Agricola's great work on dialectic and his poem on St. Anne with equal weight.

About thirty years later, Goswin van Halen (ca. 1477-ca. 1530) from Halen on the Meuse near Roermond composed a biography of Agricola in the form of a letter ¹³. He intended only a casual, private memoir and hence availed himself of the rudimentary, anecdotal structures provided by the flexible epistolary genre. Goswin was rector of the house of the Brethren of the Common Life at Groningen, not far from Agricola's birthplace, from 1497 to his death around 1530 ¹⁴. In the opening lines of the biography, he indicated that he was writing in response to a request by Philip Melanchthon for information concerning the life of Agricola. Goswin was in a good position to undertake such a task, because, as he pointed out, he had acquired abundant information from a pastor at Groningen who had known Agricola's whole family and who had spent several years with Agricola in Italy. But more, Goswin was a good source for this life because he had been the *famulus*, or houseboy, of Agricola's friend Wessel Gansfort, and later studied under Alexander Hegius, another close friend of Agricola.

Basing himself on those two sources, Goswin led his reader to expect equal amounts of information on Agricola's activities in the Low Countries and in Italy. But he actually concentrated on Agricola's family and studies in the Low Countries and skipped over the Italian years with less attention than he gave even to the Heidelberg years for which his

¹³ Goswin was identified as the author by van der Velden, pp. 10-17. The text was printed by Ioannes Baptist Kan, "Wesseli Groningensis, Rodolphi Agricolae... Vitae ex Codice Vindobonensi...", *Erasmiani Gymnasii Programma Litterarium* (Rotterdam, 1894). My thanks to Prof. Anthony Grafton, Princeton University, who graciously forwarded a duplicate of this text to me from the British Library; I have been unable to locate any copy in West Germany or the United States. (Hereafter, van Halen, *Agricolae*.)

¹⁴ M. van Rhijn, "Goswinus van Halen", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S., 18 (1925), 1-24. Lewis Spitz, *op. cit.*, expresses reservations about van der Velden's attribution of the *Vitae* to Goswin, but does not clarify them; van Rhijn calls Goswin "zonder twijfel... de auteur van het fragment", p. 1, n. 1.

sources were only second-hand. Moreover, much inaccurate information suggests that Goswin's memory was faulty in a number of details.

Nonetheless, his special perspective on Agricola made it possible for him to provide information concerning Agricola and his family which was unknown to or unreported by other biographers. He began his discussion of Agricola with the very interesting description of Agricola's interest as a little child in music and painting¹⁵. He also cited Agricola to the effect that the sophistical hair-splitting at Louvain was a "waste of time and energy"¹⁶, an important opinion if one would appreciate Agricola's intellectual development and an opinion which a later biographer who was particularly proud of Louvain either did not know or was at pains to suppress¹⁷.

The casual and personal nature of Goswin's biographical letter made it possible for him to include information which would have been considered indecorous in any of the more formal genres, as well as harmful to any attempt to set up Agricola as a model. Goswin alone of Agricola's biographers revealed that Agricola's father was a cleric as yet unordained and that Agricola's mother eventually married another man. Goswin was thus also the only biographer to relate the anecdote that Agricola's father had received the news of his birth in the same hour as he received news of his election as abbot of a monastery over which he presided for 36 years. The senior Huijsman's contentment had obviously become part of an oral tradition which, for appreciable reasons, found no echo in formal biographies: "Today I became a father twice!"

With similar candor, Goswin alone of all the biographers made no bones about Agricola's interest in women. A different biographer referred to a courtly interest in literate ladies and called any suspicions along these lines impertinent¹⁸. Another biographer would later gloss over Agricola's lyrics to women as simple poetic exercises¹⁹. Whatever

¹⁵ van Halen, *Agricolae*, p. 5. On Agricola and painting, see also the article by Michael Baxandall, "Rudolf Agricola and the Visual Arts", *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski*, ed. Peter Bloch et al. (Berlin, 1973), pp. 403-418.

¹⁶ "Ibi tum iacturam fecit et temporis et operae". van Halen, *Agricolae*, p. 5.

¹⁷ See below, notes 19, 24, 25.

¹⁸ Johann von Plieningen, "Commentarius seu index vite Rodolphi Agricole Frisi", in Franz Pfeiffer, "Rudolf Agricola", *Serapeum*, 10 (1849), 97-107, 113-119. Comment on women, p. 114. (Hereafter cited as Plieningen, *Agricola*.)

¹⁹ Gerardus Geldenhauer, "Vita Rodolphi Agricola Frisi", in *Virorum qui... memorabiles fuerunt Vitae*, ed. Johannes Fichardus (Frankfurt/Main: Christianus Egenolphus, 1536), 83'-87'. On women, 85'. (Hereafter cited as Geldenhauer, *Agricolae*.)

the truth of Agricola's activities in Louvain, Italy, or the Low Countries, Goswin had other memories. He reported that Agricola loved — *amavit* — a girl named Anne, whom he nicknamed his Fury and on whose name he made up verses in "German". Goswin further hinted that Agricola had a reputation in these matters. He reported material on Agricola's learning which he had received from a Benedictine nun in the Siloe convent at Selwert, near Groningen, whom Agricola had tutored many years previously:

She had been fairly familiar with Rudolph and had learned much from him which she still retained. Now whether she was more familiar than was seemly, she didn't let on to me any more than that she had learned much [in Latin and Greek] from him ²⁰.

But while Goswin's information is unique, it is also strictly anecdotal. Given its frequent historical inaccuracies, it is tempting to write off Goswin's biography as unverifiable, a chatty and amusing memoir of no historical or literary value. Even his information on Agricola lacked any interpretive focus: for he devoted most of his narration to the anecdotes which lacked organization and purpose, even if they did make for fascinating reading. In this anecdotal quality, however, Goswin's life suggests the kind of impact Diogenes Laertius' *Lives* were having on contemporary biography ²¹. Goswin's racy anecdotes reflect precisely the characteristic of Diogenes' which have made the *Lives* so popular and influenced humanists from Enea Silvio to John Aubrey ²².

²⁰ "(Superest adhuc monacha quaedam a Noviomago in Ziloe Wandelvaer nomine quae dicit) se Rodolpho fuisse admodum familiarem, et ex eo multa didicisse ut adhuc liquet, fueritne etiam familiarior quam par erat mihi non est confessa, quam et multa docuit..." van Halen, *Agricolae*, p. 8. I thank Prof. J. IJsewijn for information on the Siloe convent and the nun named Wandelvaer.

²¹ Almost no work has come to my attention on the reception of Diogenes Laertius in the Renaissance, although several factors suggest his considerable popularity. Traversari's partial Latin translation of the 1430's provided incentive for other Quattrocento writers to correct and augment him; Latin translations appeared early in print in Italy and in Germany, and were frequently reprinted. Some information on Diogenes in the Renaissance may be gleaned from Richard Hope, *The Books of Diogenes Laertius* (New York, 1930; a printed doctoral thesis). See also the introduction to the Loeb text, Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, ed. and trans. by R.D. Hicks, 2 vols. (London, 1925). It is impossible for me to establish whether Goswin had read Diogenes, although it is not unlikely, since he elsewhere indicates an acquaintance with Plutarch, Herodotus, and Thucydides, the other Greek historians whose works were gaining currency in Northern Europe at that time. Cf. van Rhijn, p. 20.

²² Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), *De viris illustribus* (Stuttgart, 1843); cf. Gerhart Bürck, *Selbstdarstellung und Personenbildnis bei Enea Silvio Piccolomini*

This rendering, so reminiscent of Diogenes, must not have satisfied the needs of Melanchthon, for he used little of the biography for his own biographies of Agricola written in 1539. It is equally conceivable that he found Goswin's biography unsuited to the usual ends of biography. Although filled with newsy gossip, it lacked any interpretation of Agricola's significance for the diffusion of humanistic studies, which Melanchthon considered a major issue for Agricola's biography. Although rich in charming anecdotes, it offered no serviceable examples of piety and erudition.

While the first two biographies were brief and informal, three others displayed an impressive array of formal biographical techniques to present differing and wide-ranging interpretations of Agricola's significance. For Gerardus Geldenhouer from Nijmegen, the biography of Rudolph Agricola provided an occasion to extend one of Geldenhouer's fondest projects²³. A native of the Low Countries like Agricola, he was attached to his homeland by a deep and articulate patriotism. He expressed this in a number of works on the geography and history of the region²⁴. In 1530, he had published a series of lives of its learned men²⁵. So in 1536, when he was asked to contribute some biographies to another collection, he seized this fresh opportunity to glorify Agricola as the most illustrious scholar of the Low Countries and thereby to shed lustre on his beloved homeland. Indeed, to give Agricola his place of prominence, he treated him not in the limited context of a preface, a letter, or an oration, but in a completely free-standing biography which allowed Geldenhouer as broad a scope of narration as

(Basel & Stuttgart, 1956). John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (Harmondsworth, 1972). I have not examined the possible influence of Diogenes on Vespasiano da Bisticci.

²³ Geldenhauer, *Agricolae*, cited above, n. 19.

²⁴ These included a *Historia Batavica*, a collection of lives of illustrious scholars from the Low Countries, and a life of Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht, all discussed in J. Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus* ('s-Gravenhage, 1911). Also see O. Hendriks, "Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus (1482-1542)", *Studia Catholica*, 31 (1956), 129-196, and E. H. Waterbolk, "L'Historiographie néo-latine de la Frise", in J. IJsewijn & Eckhard Kessler (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis* (Munich-Louvain, 1973), pp. 693-699. And recently, Cornelis Augustijn, "Gerard Geldenhouer und die religiöse Toleranz", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 69 (1978), 132-156.

²⁵ The work (*De viris illustribus Inferioris Germaniae*) appears to be lost except for the lives of Agricola, Gansfort, Murmellius and Petrus Montanus. Neither Prinsen nor any other sources since Melchior Adam (d. ca. 1620) could locate it. My own searches have also been futile. A list of the lives included is found in Scriverius (cf. Prinsen, pp. 118-122); of these, the *vita* of Wessel Gansfort was used by Fichard, pp. 87^r-88^r, that of Johannes Murmellius was often reprinted in the sixteenth century as a preface to his *Pappa Puerorum*.

he wished. Yet, while he had access to special information and while he understood the theoretical principles of biographical technique, he achieved a portrait of Agricola both incorrect in facts and different from other biographies in its interpretation.

Like Goswin, his fellow-citizen of Guelders whom he does not seem to have known, Geldenhauer had attended school under the tutelage of Agricola's former colleagues, including Hegius at Deventer, whom he quotes directly in the text ²⁶. Moreover, during his studies at Louvain for a few years before 1516, he had circulated with the group of humanists and scholars attempting to bring Agricola's works through press. He eventually became one of those who had kept Agricola's papers from sliding into the oblivion to which their careless heirs would have consigned them. After correspondence with Erasmus concerning Agricola's work, and in the course of his friendship with Martin Dorp ²⁷, Geldenhauer himself painstakingly established the text of Book I of the *De Inventionis Dialectica*, a labor in which he still took pride as he recalled it in the biography ²⁸.

These experiences gave him access to much data about Agricola's intellectual development not found in other biographies, not even in Pleningen's. He described in detail how Agricola, without a teacher, attained fluency and an elegant pronunciation of French, although he was living at Louvain in De Valk (Falco) College where the many Walloon lodgers spoke a less perfect French. He also explained that the association with Frenchmen prompted Agricola to learn musical theory and develop his own musical talents. He provided the information that Agricola had hired a Jewish tutor to teach him Hebrew. He mentioned the immediate fate of Agricola's papers and library, a point which had been crucial back in 1514 when he, Dorp, and others were looking for them. Beyond these matters of Agricola's learning, Geldenhauer added endearing personal details which he had probably heard from his own

²⁶ Geldenhauer, *Agricolae*, p. 85^v.

²⁷ See P.S. Allen, "The Letters of Rudolf Agricola", *English Historical Review*, 21 (1906), 303-305.

²⁸ "Unum non possum non addere... Primus liber ipsius Agricolae manu scriptus, in marginibus multa addita habebat, quae in operae contextum transferenda erant, in ipso vero contextu, multa inducta, multa deleta, quaedam minutissimis lituris potius quam literis annotata, coniecturis ac divinatione assequi oportebat. Quare ego precibus doctissimorum virorum... in studiosorum omnium gratiam eum laborem subii, ut primum librum, ordine quo nunc legitur, describerim Anno Domini (1514)...". Geldenhauer, *Agricolae*, pp. 86^vf.

teachers: the fact that Agricola had travelled with only a single valet, a mark of simplicity; the particular books Agricola always kept with him; his unkempt appearance, even at dinner parties ²⁹.

Like most other humanist biographers, Geldenhouwer realized that even his privileged information did not satisfy the purpose of biography; in his prefatory letter, he stated that such writings as this really pertain to moral instruction. He concluded therefore that they should be written with simplicity and truthfulness, rather than with elegance and rhetorical flourish ³⁰. But since Geldenhouwer identified — or confused — moral instruction with patriotic fervor, his procedure in the *Vita* was to present the “simple truth” very selectively. Thus, patriotism made him suppress or play down Agricola’s preference for Italy and almost overlook his residence there. Only such a strategy could allow him to go on to make Agricola into a national hero. By turning all his resources of characterization and style to this end, he rendered Agricola not as a model inspiring imitation, but as a dazzling genius defying duplication. The *topoi* of his opening sentences betray this at once by their lack of sobriety. There he uses anachronistic expressions such as calling Agricola an *incomparabilis heros*, a military term in fact, which a later editor toned down to *vir* ³¹. He went on to claim that the Agricola family “was always held among the more honorable among the Frisians” ³². Even if such a statement were customary for princely or military biographies, it was an irrelevant *topos* in a scholar’s life. Perhaps it was meant by Geldenhouwer to distract the reader from the truth of Agricola’s illegitimate birth and from his family’s relative poverty. Whatever his reasons, it was a blatant falsehood. And it calls into question Geldenhouwer’s *topos* on omens of the baby Rudolph’s linguistic talents recalled by his nurse, themselves a

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84^r–85^r, passim. Given such precision, it was surely only an oversight or a printer’s error which has Agricola’s death placed in 1490 instead of 1485.

³⁰ “Huiusmodi enim scripti genus, quod ad morum institutionem pertinet, magis simplicem veritatem quam phaleratam illam facundiam requirere non ignorat”. *Ibid.*

³¹ Adam, *Vitae... Philosophorum*, vol. 5, p. 6-b.

³² “Agricolarum familia, apud Frisios, inter honoratiores semper habita est. Ex hac incomparabilis heros, Rodolphus Agricola originem duxit”. Geldenhauer, *Agricolae*, p. 83^r. The *topos* concerning the nobility of families as part of the description of an illustrious man’s life is discussed in terms common to the entire ancient tradition in Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III, vii 10 and 19. Plieningen argues along lines suggested by Cicero in *De Oratore* for those of common birth when he maintains that Agricola’s virtue ennobled his family retroactively. “...parentibus quidem ac maioribus modicis, ut sua virtute atque industria aliquando redderetur insignior”. Plieningen, *Agricola*, p. 101.

stock device in various other kinds of biographies which seem here to reflect the same classical stylization about Agricola's family and origins.

Just as Geldenhouwer removed Agricola's background from the realm of fact, so he treated Agricola's achievements as inimitable feats, meant to dazzle the reader, not to encourage him to emulation. Agricola's progress in humanistic studies at Louvain, his serene victory in every academic debate, his early acquisition of the Master's Degree awed not only the University, but many nearby cities as well. Those cities included Geldenhouwer's native Nijmegen in Guelders which offered Agricola, from Groningen in Frisia, an "amplissimum stipendium", a point of special pride for Geldenhouwer. Thus, although Geldenhouwer's prefatory statements would lead a reader to expect a careful and restrained biography, his patriotic purposes led him to an almost pompous stylization and substantial inaccuracy, if not fudging, about his subject. He thereby rendered Agricola as a very formidable Frisian genius who had spent most of his life at home in the Low Countries, yet managed to awe all Europe with his linguistic pyrotechnics.

The last two biographies of Agricola, composed by Philip Melanchthon, were both written in 1539. The first was a letter in March to Alardus of Amsterdam on the occasion of the edition of all Agricola's available works. The second was a commencement oration at the University of Wittenberg, delivered a few months later³³. Melanchthon had developed a sense of Agricola's significance through men who were excellent personal sources for Agricola's life. As a young student at Heidelberg, he had enjoyed an intimate association with close colleagues and former friends of Agricola. Some very significant information attributed to his sources cannot, however, be corroborated from Agricola's own works or in references to Agricola which have come down from his contemporaries. This includes Melanchthon's material on Agricola's relationship with Wessel Gansfort and their related opinions on Church reform, celibacy, and the Mass³⁴.

All these sources would have counted for nothing, however, were it not for Melanchthon's own deep conviction about Agricola. For as he

³³ The letter, "Alardo Aemstelredamo", in *Corpus Reformatorum*, III, pp. 673-676; the oration, "Vita Rodolphi Agricolae", *ibid.*, IX, pp. 438-446. Hereafter cited as Melanchthon, "Alardo", and Melanchthon, "Agricolae", respectively.

³⁴ As suggested above, n. 3, the question of Melanchthon's sources is vexed. Quirinus Breen tackled it in "Melanchthon's Sources for a Life of Agricola", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 52 (1961), 49-74. My extension of and corrections of his argument are stated in *Friendship and Rhetoric*, pp. 103-112, 117-118.

interpreted Agricola's life according to his own ideals, he did so because he believed that Agricola had already played an important role in forming him in those ideals³⁵. In an autobiographical sketch, written shortly after his biographies of Agricola³⁶, Melanchthon described the impact which Agricola had had on his intellectual formation. The *De Inventione Dialectica* had proven a turning point in Melanchthon's search for a philosophical method free of the inadequacies he had found in scholastic teaching. Melanchthon had been able to find no link between scholastic studies and practical affairs. Finding none, he questioned the value of studies until Johannes Oecolampadius, the later reformer of Basel whom Melanchthon cherished as a father for his learning and piety, placed Agricola's newly printed work on dialectic in his hands³⁷. "I was not only taught, I was spurred on to probe more carefully the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes and discern there the forms of arguments"³⁸. The forms he meant were the dialectical *topoi* which Agricola had refashioned according to the precepts of humanist rhetoric and which had a determining influence on Melanchthon's own method in the *Loci Communes*. Thus, on his own admission, Melanchthon found the means to mediate between pure academic learning and the problems of theological controversy. Church organization, educational reform, public equity, and national politics, problems which made claims on the resources of men of learning in his time. Both biographies are similar in a major point of interpretation. In order to emphasize Agricola's broad learning, Melanchthon organized the varied

³⁵ Agricola's influence on Melanchthon is discussed, with differing interpretations, by Paul Joachimsen, "Loci Communes", in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Notker Hammerstein (Aalen, 1970), pp. 186-256 (sees a substantial influence); by Wilhelm Maurer, "Melanchthons *Loci Communes* von 1521 als wissenschaftliche Programmschrift, ein Beitrag zur Hermeneutik der Reformationszeit", *Lutherjahrbuch*, 27 (1960), 1-50 (minimizes the influence and takes open issue against Joachimsen's article, originally published in 1926); Wilhelm Maurer, *Der Junge Melanchthon*, Vol. I: *Der Humanist* (Göttingen, 1967), pp. 180-230 (modifies the views of 1960, allowing somewhat more substantial influence, but still rejecting Joachimsen's position); and Breen, cited above, who acknowledges a general influence, but does not enter the analytical discussion of the others. I would side with Joachimsen's views, and take serious exception to Maurer's conclusions; cf. *Friendship and Rhetoric*, p. 109.

³⁶ Philip Melanchthon, "Epistola de seipso et de editione prima suorum scriptorum", *Corpus Reformatorum*, IV, pp. 715-722.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 715-716.

³⁸ "Horum lectione non erudiebar tantum sed etiam excitabar, ut in orationibus Ciceronis et Demosthenis argumentorum formas diligentius considerarem ac distinguerem". *Ibid.*

aspects of his life in terms of a strict interrelation with a scheme of universal knowledge. This reflected the integrating function which Agricola's *Dialectic* had had on Melanchthon's own conception of the relations among the sciences. Thus, in both the preface and the oration he introduced Agricola's scholarly activity at Heidelberg by saying that Agricola's skillful public debates on diverse questions encouraged professors of all faculties to consult him on technical matters. From this he went on to survey Agricola's contributions to philosophy, jurisprudence, scriptural and ascetical theology, and the like ³⁹.

In the oration, he extended this interpretation by including two other major arguments about Agricola's significance. The first argument, presented in terms of Agricola's successes in Italy, involved a review of Germany's cultural status during recent generations. The second argument, ostensibly concerned with his success in debate at Heidelberg, dealt in fact with the course of the Reformation as such.

Melanchthon's thesis about Agricola's universal genius led him first to associate Agricola's success as a musician, composer, and translator of Greek authors with this stimulating Italian atmosphere ⁴⁰. He treated Agricola's stay in Italy in great detail, because he considered Agricola the first German who perceived the retrograde state of letters in Germany and who did something about it. He described Agricola's stay in Ferrara as a sojourn in a scholarly paradise presided over by a benign prince and patron. Here the polymath Agricola flourished among the leaders and renewers of every field of knowledge. He learned Greek from the recently exiled Byzantines; he deepened his study of Aristotle with Theodore of Gaza; he polished his style by conferring with Guarino and refined his poetry through intercourse with the two poets Strozzi. He could even learn the latest advances in mathematics. But Agricola was not merely receptive of the good things Italy had to offer. According to Melanchthon, he awed the Italians with his learning and manner of speech; he also apparently showed none of that rustic awkwardness which Italians at that time expected from Germans.

Thus, not only had the Italians considered Germany a backwater, but so did Melanchthon. In this context, Agricola appeared both as Germany's first humanist and also as a model of the cultural program

³⁹ Melanchthon, "Alardo", p. 674, and Melanchthon, "Agricolae", pp. 442-443.

⁴⁰ Melanchthon, "Agricolae", p. 442.

which Melanchthon himself had struggled to develop at Wittenberg ⁴¹. This vivid discussion, fifty-five years after Agricola's death, was not so much a satisfied observation on how far his countrymen had come as it was a subtle reminder of how much was left to accomplish. For, as Melanchthon made unequivocally clear in his autobiographical sketch, he considered that the discord of the Reformation had lamentably retarded the advance of humanist studies in Germany. Although he added that he did not regret his own decision to join the Lutheran party, he regarded the advance of letters as unnecessarily frustrated ⁴².

For this reason, as his next major argument, Melanchthon elaborated on Agricola's concern for church affairs and thereby rendered him as a model of church reform. He cited Agricola's theological debates at Heidelberg and his relation to theological colleagues at Groningen. He relates that Agricola was supposed to have taken part as a younger man in several theological discussions with his countrymen Wessel Gansfort and Basil of Groningen. Melanchthon regarded them both as men ahead of their own times. It was no accident that Melanchthon selected for emphasis from their teachings the two major thrusts of his very own theological endeavors during the decade since the Confession of Augsburg (1530): an agreement on the doctrine of justification, as well as an arrangement allowing more variety in the teaching on and practice of the Mass, the Eucharist, and clerical celibacy ⁴³. By emphasizing these details, Melanchthon made Agricola into an out-and-out precursor of the Reformation.

It was also no accident that Melanchthon's assurances about the reliability of his sources became particularly numerous at this point. "I am recounting this truthfully... I am inventing none of this...". Melanchthon may have expected his audience to react with astonishment or disbelief at his account of Agricola as reformer before the fact. And he may well himself have found the stories too good to be true. For he was

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 440; see Melanchthon's well-known oration of 1518 upon assuming the chair of rhetoric at Wittenberg, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, XI, pp. 15 ff. On the state of humanist studies before Melanchthon's arrival, see Maria Grossmann's *Humanism in Wittenberg* (Nieuwkoop, 1975).

⁴² "Ac si illa aurea aetas, quam tunc reforescentibus utcunque literis sperabamus, secuta fuisset, et nobis otium fuisset, fortassis laetiora, nitidiora, et scholis gratiora scripsissemus. Sed fatalis discordia, quae postea secuta est, et mea studia conterruit, et, ut fert temporum moestitia, tristiorum et quasi lugubrem habitum orationi nostrae circumdedit". Melanchthon, "Epistola... de se ipso", p. 716.

⁴³ Melanchthon, "Alardo", p. 675.

able to make of Agricola's biography a truly remarkable synthesis. In this one biography Melanchthon presented Agricola in terms of a harmonious unity of humanism, renaissance, and reformation: a star of the new learning in Italy, the first ray of that light in Germany, a brilliant counsellor at court, and a reformer before the Reformation. If, on closer examination, the portrait seems unbalanced by its concentration on Agricola's intellectual qualities to the neglect of his person, and if it seems nostalgic by its willingness to overlook striking variances with the surviving body of Agricola's work, these must have seemed a negligible price to pay for such an opportunity to provide a human example of everything for which Melanchthon had spent his life: a model of the scholars, churchmen, and state counsellors which he expected his students in the aula at Wittenberg to become.

Only one of these biographies escaped the pragmatic, edifying, interpretative aims which characterize the humanists' biographies of each other. This is the one written at closest hand to Agricola, the *Commentarius sive index vite Rodolphi Agricole*, by his most intimate companion, Johann von Plieningen⁴⁴. Ten or fifteen years after Agricola's death⁴⁵ when the circle at Heidelberg wished to collect Agricola's works for eventual publication, it seemed natural that the task of a prefatory biography should fall to Plieningen who had known and cherished Agricola. Johann gave in, accepted the task with diffidence, and called his work an *index* or commentary which might eventually serve the others as a basis for a larger scale account of Agricola's life and teaching.

The unclear literary genre of Plieningen's biography makes it difficult at first to assess his intentions and thus to judge the work in formal terms. His usage of the term *commentarius* was strictly idiosyncratic. In classical and Renaissance historiography, it traditionally designated a life described in terms of a broadly based history of the times, such as Caesar's *Commentaries* or Enea Silvio's *Commentaries* had been, or again as Cochlaeus would entitle his history of Luther's life and times.

⁴⁴ Cf. note 18, above.

⁴⁵ It is not possible to date the biography precisely; neither Pfeiffer nor Van der Velden attempted to do so. In the preface, Johann addresses his brother Dietrich as a member of the *Reichskammergericht*. Since we know the dates of this tenure there, we can assign the dates July 1494 and 1499 as *termini post et ante quem*. See "Plieningen, Dietrich von", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXVI, 297-298; Franziska Gräfin Adelman, "Dr. Dietrich von Plieningen zu Schaubeck", *Ludwigsburger Geschichtsblätter*, 28 (1976), 9-139.

But Pleningen's biography was not of such a scope. At the same time, although various comments by Pleningen suggest that he considered his work something less than a complete biography, he marshalled out the categories of the formal eulogy for the occasion and duly passed Agricola's entire *curriculum vitae* in review. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine what he thought was missing from his biography. For while other biographers concentrated on one or two aspects of Agricola's contributions, Pleningen touched on all of them.

But while he respected both the order expected in a eulogy and the comprehensiveness due in a preface, his biography accentuated the private side of Agricola more than the public one. Of all Agricola's biographers, Pleningen alone did not make the biography into a promotion of an ideal of learning or reform. Instead, by concentrating on Agricola, he made all other elements coalesce in terms of the man himself. He accomplished this by concentrating not on Agricola's competence in particular disciplines or on specific works. Instead, he described personal qualities which affected all his studies and teaching. More significantly in this regard, Pleningen often explained Agricola's deeper motives and distinguished among them, a procedure quite uncommon in other biographies whose single concern was to present examples of successful study or unambiguously virtuous action.

This personal emphasis is first evident in the physical description, so striking by the unusual vividness of its detail⁴⁶. Pleningen explains many of these details with the loving interest which only a friend would take. Thus, for example, while Beatus Rhenanus noted perfunctorily that Erasmus had had a high or weak voice⁴⁷, Pleningen went at the same matter for Agricola in an entirely different spirit. Although Agricola had been broad-shouldered, Pleningen noted the connections between his small chest, his hoarseness, and his wretched nervous cough which interrupted debates and talks⁴⁸.

Physical description also turned into full-fledged character analysis. For Pleningen went on to relate outward characteristics to inward

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Prof. Margaret Mann Phillips for drawing my attention to the significance of the physical descriptions in the kind of biographies under discussion here, both in her article, pp. 188 and 196 f., and in personal conversation. Pleningen's physical description runs on pp. 106-107 and 113.

⁴⁷ Beatus Rhenanus, n. 5 above, p. 70; in translation by Olin, p. 53.

⁴⁸ "Ob pectus substrictum vocem habuit admodum raucam et tussi torquebatur arida precipue cum contentione in disputationibus, congressionibus familiarium sibi utendum esset". Pleningen, "Agricola", p. 106.

character, as in his discussion of facial shape and personality. He even conveyed Agricola's nervous intensity when he recalled that, in the heat of thought, Agricola would chew his nails. Similarly, he related Agricola's pent-up tension to his handsome physique and athletic coordination. For when nail-biting didn't work, Agricola went out for a wrestling match or a round of handball. Pleningen also connected this intensity to Agricola's meagre sleeping habits and frequent collapses of health. He thus transformed this description of bodily attributes into a portrayal of immense energies centered on the pursuit of high-powered study. Maintaining this theme, Pleningen showed how, when Agricola needed distraction, he would direct his terrific vitality to highly cultivated pastimes. This allowed him to discuss Agricola's remarkable range of hobbies without ever shifting his focus from the vigorous, attractive personality which stood at the center of them.

Pleningen revealed the even deeper tension in Agricola by showing how Agricola weighed and assessed his own motives when confronted with important decisions. This consistent personal focus reached a sort of apex when Pleningen discussed the voyage to Italy, the consequence of which proved fatal for Agricola. The official reason for the journey, as we know from other sources, had been diplomatic and ceremonial: upon the election of Pope Innocent VIII in 1484, the Elector Palatine sent Bishop von Dalberg to present his congratulations at Rome. Agricola was chosen to travel with the official party and even composed the speech which Dalberg delivered. The glittering diplomatic mission to the papal court might easily have been used to play up the Italians' awe at the German's eloquence. But Pleningen's interest in Agricola's motives made him oblivious to such a consideration. Thus, he described how Agricola's return to Italy after six years unleashed a flood of nostalgia and curiosity in him. His only other comment about the journey was very personal. He recounted Agricola's secret desire to remain in Rome, which Agricola had foregone only because he knew that Dalberg would have taken it with bad feelings.

This poignant reflection on Agricola shortly before his death could only have caused Dalberg embarrassment or regret. For as we know from other sources, even while Agricola was at Heidelberg, Dalberg had sought to control Agricola's wanderlust by keeping him as a highly paid guest professor at Heidelberg⁴⁹. For Pleningen, the potentially painful

⁴⁹ Cf. Breen, p. 67, n. 60.

reaction to this biography could not weigh against his concern to depict Agricola as he had loved him.

This kind of intimacy was integral to the whole biography. It thus displaced the traditional purpose for such writing, which was edification by good example. In this priceless cameo of a lamented friend, the usual decorum gave way to unmeasurable depths. Pragmatic rhetoric of Plienigen the colleague gave way to the private sentiment of Plienigen the friend. He showed Agricola not as he could be eulogized, but as he had been loved. In this way, Plienigen's biography suggests Burckhardt's discussion of the Renaissance biography and its expression of human individuality. For in dwelling on hobbies, facial expression, and hidden motives, Plienigen showed precisely that *lebhaftes Gefühl von dem Ausserordentlichen in (eines Einzelnen) Wesen*⁵⁰ which Burckhardt conceived as the key to such biography. When such emphasis appeared in the biographies of the period, it signified a shift in the major traditional purpose of biography. For to the extent that biography sought to express individual characteristics and personal particularities, it abandoned the aim to give normative moral instruction and attempted instead to delineate the uniqueness of its subject. The material which was needed to present a biographical subject in his quintessence, especially when it included his character flaws, would be irrelevant to abstract moral models: the unique cannot, by definition, be imitated. One could love Agricola's nail-biting and baldness. It would be pointless to praise or to imitate them.

Taken together, the six biographies of Rudolph Agricola reveal that the usual purpose of the humanists' biographies of each other was to reflect on the larger issues involved in the biographical subject's life. Conversely, the humanists found that larger issues, moral or literary, religious or political, could be conveniently discussed through the medium of an individual biography. By accentuating one detail over others, by judicious praise or blame, and by the effective citation of the subject's own works, a biographer could portray his subject as the living resolution of issues about which a dialogue or a treatise could present only abstract conclusions.

If the authors of Agricola's biographies were in agreement on any one point, it was on his status as father of German humanism. In some lives,

⁵⁰ Jakob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien: Ein Versuch*, edited by Walter Goetz (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 307.

this was stated outright. In others, it was described in terms of Agricola's bringing to Germany the cultural treasures of Italy. Sometimes, it emerged in the context of his excellence among the Italians which was taken as a point of honor for all Germany, and especially for Frisia. Characteristically all these themes were intermingled. Trithemius cited the posthumous tribute to Agricola by Ermolao Barbaro:

While Agricola lived, Germany could well fill its coffer
With the praise that Latium and the praise that Greece had to offer ⁵¹.

Geldenhower boasted, «He set forth from Louvain for Italy, and by learning and teaching Greek and Latin alike, he won such a name that many Italians envied him and regretted that the glory of Latium would soon take off for far-away Germany, that is, for Friesland» ⁵². And in a similar vein, Melanchthon wrote, «... Rudolph was the first in Germany who improved the manner of speech and dialectic and also showed a better method of learning» ⁵³.

But their assessments of Agricola indicated widely differing conceptions of the overall goals of the humanist movement. They therefore weighted his achievements differently. Trithemius, the fervent abbot, noted the works on St. Anne and the oration on good morals to the clergy of Worms, works seldom or never mentioned by other biographers. Geldenhower, convinced that the rebirth of letters in the North got its start in the Low Countries, went into detail about the exalted atmosphere at Louvain. Melanchthon, by contrast, in the heat of discussing Germany's darkness and Italy's splendor, hardly mentioned Louvain and did so in such a way as to make it seem the fortress of that scholastic triviality which made good minds long for the Italian academies. And by emphasizing the all-encompassing method of Agricola's

⁵¹ I have freely rendered the last two lines by Barbaro as given by Trithemius: "Invida clausurunt hoc marmore fata/Rudolphum Agricolam; frisiae spemque decusque soli./Scilicet hoc vivo meruit germania/Quicquid laudis habet latium graecia quicquid habet". Johannes Trithemius, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, p.c(1)xxxix. This verse is repeated in almost every biography or contemporary notice about Agricola.

⁵² "Hinc in Italiam profectus, et Graece et Latine discendo pariter atque docendo, tantum nominis adeptus, ut Itali nonnulli inviderent simulque deflerent, Latii gloriam in penitiorum Germaniam, hoc est Frisiam iam mox demigraturam". Geldenhauer, *Agricolae*, p. 84^v.

⁵³ "Cumque Rodolphus primum in Germania emendaverit genus sermonis et Dialecticam, ac meliorem discendi rationem monstraverit...". Melanchthon, "Agricolae", p. 439.

humanist dialectic, Melanchthon presented a synthesis of humanism and reform.

These differences are not to say that the biographers were insouciant of objectivity: most made a distinct statement about the reliability of their sources and the freedom or the limits which these imposed. But their intention to be objective was subordinate to their commitment to report the significant. The biographer's specific interests, his potential audience, and the state of affairs at the time he wrote—all these circumstances reckoned with by humanist historiographical practice functioned as principles of selection and composition in a given biography. By the techniques of their rhetoric, the humanist biographers sought to provide eternally imitable examples. By the occasional recollection of unique personal traits, they left testaments of enduring friendship.

Boston College
Dept. of Theology.

Marcel HAVERALS

UNE PREMIÈRE RÉDACTION DU
«DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI» D'ÉRASME
DANS UN MANUSCRIT DE ZWOLLE

L'étroite collaboration entre Érasme et Martin Lipse, chanoine régulier de Val-Saint-Martin, est bien connue¹. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que la bibliothèque du couvent de Louvain ait eu en sa possession des écrits du grand humaniste. Saint-Martin possédait deux manuscrits de la main même de Lipse. Le premier (ms. Bruxelles, B.R., 4850-4857) comprenait une partie de la correspondance d'Érasme et ses traductions d'*Hécube* et d'*Iphigénie à Aulis* d'Euripide, la *Vita Hieronymi* et l'*Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*². Le second, connu sous le nom de manuscrit Horawitz (Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek, 15 C 4), contenait une grande partie de la correspondance de Lipse lui-même, dont des lettres à l'adresse d'Érasme ainsi que des lettres d'Érasme à Lipse³.

Un troisième manuscrit, aujourd'hui conservé à Zwolle, Rijksarchief, Verzameling Handschriften toebehorende aan de Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis, 1034, comprend deux parties copiées par la même main. La première partie de ce ms. mérite une attention spéciale, parce qu'elle renferme, sous le nom de Didier Érasme, un écrit intitulé *Epistola suadens deserere seculum ac*

¹ Willem Lourdaux, *Moderne Devotie en Christelijk Humanisme. De geschiedenis van Sint-Maarten te Leuven van 1433 tot het einde der XVI^e eeuw*, Universiteit te Leuven. Werken op het gebied van de Geschiedenis en de Filologie, 5^e reeks, 1 (Leuven, 1967), pp. 182-214.

Nous tenons à exprimer notre gratitude à tous ceux qui nous ont fait bénéficier de leur savoir, en particulier les RR. PP. G. Folliet, W. Lourdaux et M.G. Tournoy:

² Willem Lourdaux & Marcel Haverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio. I: De bewaarde handschriften. The Surviving Manuscripts*, Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis, Series A/Vol. 8 (Leuven, 1978), pp. 489-497: description détaillée du ms.

³ Lourdaux & Haverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio*, I, 802-814: description détaillée.

monachum fieri, jusqu'à ce jour non identifié, à notre connaissance, mais où nous avons reconnu la première rédaction du *De contemptu mundi* qu'Érasme n'édita que quelques trente années plus tard. Avant de nous expliquer sur cette identification, donnons quelques brèves informations sur les autres textes de ce ms. et sur son histoire.

Dans la seconde partie de ce même ms. nous trouvons d'abord la correspondance de Jean Mauburnus (Mombaer, †1501), chanoine régulier de Groenendaal, où il est question de ses réformes monastiques en France. Vient ensuite la correspondance de Jean Ioncheere ou de Furnis, chanoine régulier de Groenendaal qui fut prieur de Val-Saint-Martin de 1500 à 1509, date de sa mort. Enfin la correspondance de Julien Cools ou Carbo, chanoine régulier de Ten Troon près de Grobbendonk et recteur du couvent des moniales de Iéricho à Bruxelles (†1522)⁴.

Pour dater ce manuscrit dont les deux parties, rappelons-le, sont d'un même copiste, nous pouvons tenir compte de la datation des lettres qui y sont transcrites. Celles-ci ne sont le plus souvent datées que très approximativement, avec l'indication du quantième seulement, toutefois certaines d'entre elles comportent des renseignements plus précis. Des lettres de Ioncheere, la plus tardive date du jeudi-saint (14 mars) 1502. Quant à celles de Cools quelques-unes sont antérieures à son installation à Iéricho en 1502, mais la plupart ont été écrites entre 1502 et 1513⁵. Il nous paraît donc possible de retenir cette dernière date comme étant celle de la rédaction du ms. de Zwolle. Il est intéressant de noter que la dernière lettre recopiée dans le manuscrit (f. 177v.) porte la signature de Cools dans une graphie identique à celle de tout le ms., ce qui oblige à dire que tout le recueil est de sa main. Comme confirmation pour la datation, en l'absence des filigranes du papier, on peut faire

⁴ Lourdaux & Haverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio*, I, 829-854: description détaillée. Nous préparons l'édition de la correspondance de Ioncheere et de Cools.

⁵ Depuis 1502 Cools résidait à Iéricho, car le 10 juin de cette année la prieure Catherine de Gijzegem lui avait donné les pleins pouvoirs pour percevoir, au nom du couvent, les cens et les rentes en Brabant et en Flandre. Cf. Bruxelles, Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives ecclésiastiques, 12558/677. Dans une de ses dernières lettres copiées, Cools mentionne la mort récente de Philippe Oudaert, survenue le 13 août 1510 (f. 174v.-175). La plupart des lettres de Cools sont adressées à Pierre Vordels, recteur des religieuses de Sainte-Lucie à Saint-Trond et prieur à Ten Troon à partir de 1513. Toutes ces lettres sont antérieures à l'élection de Vordels et datent donc d'avant 1513. Cf. Jacobus Thomas Bosmans, *Chronicon Throno-Martinianum*, p. 155 (Bruges, Grand Séminaire); Floris Prims, *Onze Lieve Vrouw ten Troon te Ouwen-Grobbendonk*, Campinia Sacra, 2 (Antwerpen, 1932), p. 78, 84-85, 115.

valoir la confection de la reliure en peau de porc qui est certainement de la première moitié du 16^e siècle.

La provenance du ms. est incertaine. Dans le rebord de la reliure est piqué le nom de «P. de Bruyne», suivi de la date «1589» écrite à l'encre; nous n'avons pu identifier ce personnage. Mais à partir de plusieurs indices, nous pensons pouvoir montrer que le couvent de Val-Saint-Martin a été, selon toute probabilité, le possesseur de ce manuscrit. Le catalogue des mss. de Saint-Martin, rédigé en 1639 par Pierre de Saint-Trond, mentionne sous le sigle A la correspondance de Mauburnus, de Ioncheere et de Cools, mais comme ce même sigle est adjoint à plusieurs autres traités, on ne peut dire si ces trois dossiers faisaient partie d'un seul et même manuscrit, car généralement chaque ms. s'y trouve indiqué sous un sigle distinct⁶. L'appartenance de la correspondance de Ioncheere et de Cools à la bibliothèque de Val-Saint-Martin est également signalée par le même Pierre de Saint-Trond dans son *Catalogus Scriptorum Windeshemensium*⁷. Mais curieusement la mention de l'*Epistola* d'Érasme ne figure dans aucun des deux catalogues. On ne peut douter pour autant que Pierre de Saint-Trond en faisant mention des correspondances susdites ne fasse allusion au manuscrit du 16^e siècle conservé aujourd'hui à Zwolle.

À la fin du 18^e siècle, ce ms. est entré en possession de Jean-François Vandevelde, bibliothécaire de l'Université de Louvain⁸. Mais comme le catalogue rédigé lors de la suppression de Val-Saint-Martin n'en fait pas mention, Vandevelde aura dû l'acquérir avant cette suppression. Dans le catalogue de la vente publique de la bibliothèque de Vandevelde, qui eut lieu en 1833, le ms. figure sous le n° 15141, et on conserve encore l'étiquette portant ce numéro et qui, pendant la

⁶ Lourdaux & Haverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio*, I, LIII-LX. Nous renvoyons aussi à la publication de ce catalogue de Pierre de Saint-Trond dans le tome II: *Geschiedenis van de bibliotheek en evolutie van haar inhoud. The History of the Library and of its Contents* (en préparation).

⁷ *Petri Trudonensis Catalogus Scriptorum Windeshemensium*, ed. Willem Lourdaux & Ernest Persoons, Universiteit te Leuven. Werken op het gebied van de Geschiedenis en de Filologie, 5^e reeks, 3 (Leuven, 1968), pp. 114 et 160. De même, la correspondance de Mauburnus était conservée à Groenendaal, mais le catalogue de la bibliothèque de ce monastère semble suggérer qu'il s'agissait de lettres originales. Cf. Antonius Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta*, 2 (Insulis, 1644), p. 141: «Item Ioannis Mauburni Canonici Regularis, Magistri Ioannis Standonck, Magistri Philippi Hodaert, Poenitentiarii Senonensis, Epistolae aliquot Manuscriptae».

⁸ Cf. l'ex-libris au f. Av. du premier foliotage. Ce manuscrit n'est pas mentionné dans l'inventaire manuscrit de Vandevelde: Liste des manuscrits que possède Mr. J.F. Vandevelde, Bruxelles, B.R., 1185 n° 38.

vente publique, était attachée au dos du manuscrit⁹. Enfin en 1860, un certain H.W. Tydeman fit don du ms. à la Zwolse Vereeniging¹⁰.

Ainsi qu'il l'écrit lui-même dans l'Épître liminaire de l'édition princeps de son *De contemptu mundi*, imprimé en 1521 à Louvain par Dirk Martens, Érasme publiait alors une œuvre de jeunesse en y apportant quelques légères modifications: «Relegi ac pauculis verbis immutatis passus sum officinis committi»¹¹. Le texte du ms. de Zwolle est sans aucun doute antérieur à celui de l'édition et, en outre, il répond parfaitement à ce qu'Érasme fait remarquer. Tous les commentateurs admettent que c'est en vue de l'édition princeps qu'Érasme a ajouté l'Épître liminaire et le chapitre XII. Or ces deux textes ne se trouvent pas dans le ms. de Zwolle (ci-après Z). De même, la dernière phrase du chapitre XI manque dans Z où, après *amittas*, le bref souhait «Vale» termine le traité. Dans le tome paru en 1977 des *Opera omnia* d'Érasme, le soin d'éditer le *De contemptu mundi* fut confié à Samuel Dresden¹². Pour cette édition, Dresden (ci-après D) a repris le texte de l'édition princeps en la collationnant avec trois autres éditions anciennes. La découverte de la première rédaction de ce traité dans Z ne nécessite pas une nouvelle édition, toutefois ce texte plus ancien comporte des variantes qui ne sont pas sans intérêt pour les études érasmiennes.

À en croire Érasme lui-même d'après l'Épître liminaire à son édition de 1521, cette œuvre de jeunesse aurait été écrite sur la demande de Theodoricus Harlemeus, désireux d'inciter son propre neveu à la vie monastique. Mais dans Z, le traité est expressément attribué à Érasme (Herasmus) et sans aucune référence à la personne de Theodoricus. Il ne nous semble donc pas téméraire de mettre en doute l'affirmation d'Érasme selon laquelle il aurait écrit cette œuvre sur la demande de Theodoricus. Il est vrai qu'on peut opposer le témoignage d'Érasme lui-même dans sa lettre à Botzheim: "Sed admodum iuvenes vix annos

⁹ P.F. De Goesin-Verhaeghe, *Catalogue des livres, rares et précieux, au nombre de 14435 lots, de la bibliothèque de feu Monsieur Jean-François Vande Velde*, 2 (Gand, 1832), p. 686. Le ms. est décrit de la façon suivante: «Epistola suadens deserere seculum ac monachum fieri; Herasm. nepoti doctissimo Judoco S.P.; et aliae ejusdem materiae epistolae scilicet prioris Winde. ad priorem Viridisvallis, et aliorum. MS. sur papier. in-8°. rel. en parchemin».

¹⁰ D'après l'inventaire du Rijksarchief à Zwolle.

¹¹ *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia*, Ordinis Quinti Tomus Primus (Amsterdam-Oxford, 1977): *De contemptu mundi*, éd. Samuel Dresden, p. 39 ll. 15-16.

¹² *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia*, V, I: Introduction, p. 3-36; Texte p. 39-86.

nati viginti scripsimus in eodem genere Laudem vitae monasticae, hoc est solitariae, in gratiam amici cuiusdam qui nepotem quendam venabatur proselytum quem in nassam pelliceret»¹³. Dans cette lettre à Botzheim, écrite en 1523, Érasme lui communique un catalogue de ses œuvres. Or, à cette date, les premières éditions du *De contemptu mundi* étaient trop récentes pour qu'il prît ses distances avec ce titre. Il est néanmoins frappant qu'Érasme ne désigne pas Theodoricus par son nom, mais qu'il se contente d'un mot assez vague : «in gratiam amici cuiusdam». C'est à Steyn, à l'âge de 24 ans, qu'Érasme avait composé le *De contemptu mundi*, mais depuis lors ses idées sur la vie monastique avaient beaucoup évolué. Publier cet éloge de la vie monastique ne lui était psychologiquement possible que s'il ne devait plus considérer ce traité comme reflétant ses propres idées. Il est d'ailleurs significatif que le titre dans Z : «Epistola suadens deserere seculum ac monachum fieri» soit devenu : «De contemptu mundi epistola».

La division en chapitres avec leur numérotage se trouve dans la première rédaction et figure en marge dans l'édition princeps ; Dresden a donc eu tort de reléguer ce numérotage dans l'apparat critique. De plus, dans Z le chapitre XI est intitulé : «De voluptate monachorum. Caput ultimum», ce qui, comme nous l'avons dit, exclut la présence d'un chapitre XII dans la rédaction originale.

On peut déjà faire remarquer que l'édition de Dresden qui pour l'essentiel veut être conforme à l'édition princeps (A) de Dirk Martens comporte des fautes étonnantes :

A mummus (faute d'impression non signalée)	D 198 nummus ;
mihi, homo hominum	D 199 mihi, hominum
quicquam	D 288 quicquid ;
immanae	D 308 immane ;
nihil sinit esse	D 354 nihil esse ;
amicorum	D 457 comicorum ;
impendentem (faute d'impression non signalée)	D 541 impudentem ;
regionis	D 573 religionis ;
perturbate	D 662 perturbare ;
lubitum	D 674 lubitu ;
immanior	D 743 imanior ;
hinc	D 803 hic ;
secus (= faute d'impression pour caecus, les autres éditions collationnées par Dresden ont la même leçon)	D 967 secus.

¹³ *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi*, éd. P.S. Allen, 1 (Oxford, 1906), p. 18.

Avant de donner la liste des variantes entre Z et D, nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur les nombreuses différences dans l'orthographe, le copiste de Z s'en tenant à l'orthographe du bas moyen âge. Il est impossible de savoir si le jeune Érasme a lui aussi suivi cette orthographe. Z emploie toujours sans exception la graphie *e* au lieu de *ae*. Il ne nous paraît pas utile d'indiquer toutes les variantes orthographiques; donnons seulement quelques exemples: Z Iudocus: D Iodocus; Z michi: D mihi; Z quatinus: D quatenus; Z nichil: D nihil; Z totiens quotiens: D toties quoties; Z alioquin: D alioqui; Z lachrime: D lachrymae; Z Sirtes: D Syrtes; Z haut: D haud; Z auctore: D autore; Z Caribdium: D Charybdiūm; Z frenetici: D phrenetici; Z quum: D cum; Z viciis: D vitiis etc.

À ces variantes de moindre importance on peut ajouter le fréquent emploi de parenthèses en Z que D remplace souvent par des virgules, par ex.: Z f. 9v. Qui (nichil refert) unde: D 90 Qui nihil refert unde; Z f. 11v. si scelerum (inquiens) bene: D 173-4 si scelerum, inquiens, bene; Z f. 13v. homini, deus bone: D 251 homini (deus bone) etc.

Un certain nombre de variantes ne sont vraisemblablement que des fautes de copiste de Z:

Z f. 9 metus	D 53 motus (<i>ou faut-il préférer la leçon metus?</i>);
f. 10 inimicitius	D 102 inimicius;
f. 10v. ut planos securos vivere	D 119 ut plane securos vivere;
f. 11 his futurum gaudiis	D 152-3 his fruiturus gaudiis;
f. 16v. offerri	D 384 efferri;
f. 17v. livor turget	D 443 livor tinget (<i>ou faut-il préférer turget?</i>);
f. 18 accersire	D 462 accersere;
f. 18v. Nova	D 494 Nona;
f. 19v. illepidem	D 538 illepidum;
f. 21 diram	D 597 duram;
f. 21v. delectat	D 625 delectet;
f. 24v. alloquens	D 760 alloquensve;
f. 25 recessus	D 779 secessus;
f. 26 mihi commodius virtuti	D 822 nihil commodius; D 831 virtutis;
f. 27 preclara illa tonata	D 867 praeclara illa; D 876 conata (= <i>citation</i>);
f. 32v. ut studiosum	D 1121 et studiosum;
f. 33v. consisti recte	D 1145 consistit; D 1146 certe.

En de nombreux endroits, Érasme a lui-même retouché le texte

original. Bien que ces variantes ne soient pas toujours d'égale importance, il peut néanmoins être utile d'en donner une liste complète:

Z f. 8 Epistola suadens deserere seculum ac monachum fieri. Herasmus Iudoco nepoti doctissimo S.P.	D 1 Theodoricus Harlemeus Iodoco nepoti doctissimo S.P.;
dubitaverim	D 7 dubitarem;
perrexerim	D 9 tentarim;
aut simplex	D 20 ut simplex;
f. 8v. denique et singularis	D 23 denique singularis;
f. 8v. aut certe amplius	D 29 aut etiam amplius;
Immo	D 30 Imo;
a mundi commertio	D 35 a mundi strepitu commercioque;
monasticam vitam	D 36 monasticam, id est solitariam tranquillamque, vitam;
f. 9 novi Iudoce quos	D 52 novi, Iodoce, novi quos;
metus	D 53 motus;
pectore nostro non metum	D 56 pectori nostro metum non
exerueris	exemeris;
canticet	D 62 cantitet;
plerunquam	D 95 plerunque;
f. 10 inimicitius	D 102 inimicius;
Caput secundum	D 108 <i>om.</i> ;
f. 10v. salvandi	D 116 servabuntur;
ut planos securos vivere	D 119 ut plane securos vivere;
facit iter. Ego	D 122-3 facit iter. Non periit qui comoratur in mundo sed periculo propior est. Ego;
qui tibi optime consultum velim	D 123 quoniam tibi optime consultum volo;
captus) qui non	D 127 captus) non;
f. 11 animi miserie	D 144 animi miserae;
qui te amat misere? Vide	D 145 quae te amat misere, quae te deperit, quae te maritum optat? Vide;
rebus magis conveniunt	D 147 rebus conveniunt;
his futurus gaudiis	D 152-3 his fruiturus gaudiis;
male	D 154 mala (= <i>citation</i>);
f. 11v. Caput tertium	D 162 <i>om.</i> ;
seculum	D 163 mundus;
ac diviciis (+ variante <i>interlinéaire</i> : ad divitias)	D 175 ac divitiis;
aut mollicie (qua	D 177 aut luxu (quo);
f. 12 devenire	D 184 evenire;
Nulli	D 188 Nullae;
curas, metus	D 191 curas, aggressit metus;
paravitque	D 191 paravit;

Z	michi hominum stultissimum an miserrimum	A mihi homo hominum stultissime di- cam an miserrime
		D 199 mihi hominum stultissime dicam an miserrime;
f. 12v.	sensus <i>corr.</i> census tue iacturam facias. Quin	D 202 census; D 219 tuae vel iacturam facias vel mo- ram feras. Quin;
	thesaurizate vobis	D 221 thesaurissa tibi;
f. 13	sinistrius Caput quartum fere capientes artificiosus nitor	D 223 infelicius; D 227 <i>om.</i> ; D 229 fere totum capientes; D 229-30 artificio fucatus nitor (= <i>ci- tation</i>);
	pareant omnium rerum	D 230 appareant; D 231-2 omnium re;
f. 13v.	Dei contemptum tamen quid vocare, si insana gaudia dixerim	D 245 numinis contemptum; D 253 quid tamen; D 255 vocaturus, si insana gaudia dixero;
f. 14	quam uri. Aut quid	D 268-71 quam uri. Pateat istud in- firmis asylum. Non invideo Segor urbem magnam et non magnam, ex incendio Sodomorum fugientibus, sed novi robur animi tui. Comprobo nuptias, sed in his qui sine illis non possunt vivere. At quid;
f. 14	Caput quintum quicquam caducius?	D 277 <i>om.</i> ; A quicquam magis fluxum magisque caducum?
	breves	D 288-9 quicquid magis fluxum magis- que caducum?;
f. 14v.	nichil amittitur tenduntur venabula unum quodlibet si que Tum illa illustrium montem	D 290 breves videntur; D 294-5 nihil tamen amittitur; D 300 tenduntur casses (= <i>citation</i>); D 301 unum aliquem; D 310 si qua; D 312 Cum; D 312 illa rerum illustrium; D 316 montes (= <i>citation</i>);
f. 15	Sed hoc quicquid est ad nos, ad illos nihil attinet	D 322-3 Sed hoc quicquid est, ad nos fortassis aliquantum, ad illos nihil attinet;
f. 15	illa nunc mei discant barbarosque perdomui terere.	D 323 illi nunc; D 330 meo discant; D 333 Barbarosque populos perdomui; D 335 terrere;

Z	quidem etiam levi	D 336 quidem levi;
f. 15v.	coarceor	D 341 coherceor;
	omnis acte	D 347 totius actae;
	nihil sinit esse	A nihil sinit esse
		D 354 nihil esse;
	Caput sextum	D 354 <i>om.</i> ;
	nemo sit qui non credat	D 356-7 nemo sit qui credat;
	non fere	D 360 non temere;
f. 16	securitatem dicam an demen- tiam	D 362 securitas dicam an dementia;
	sequuturi	D 369 sequentur;
	via una leti	D 371 via leti (= <i>citation</i>);
	mori cogitare	D 376 mortem cogitare;
	aniles	D 377 seniles;
f. 16v.	diuturnis vite	D 383 diuturnae vitae;
	aniles	D 384 seniles;
	offerri	D 384 efferri;
	una <i>corr.</i> unum	D 389 unum;
	tum quam hac	D 394 tum hac;
	Nestores aut Mathusa- lem (<i>sic!</i>)	D 396 Nestores, Sibyllas aut Mathu- salem;
	centesimo	D 398 millesimo;
	accomodatum	D 401 accomodum;
f. 17	iam flores	D 406 nam flores;
	secordia	D 414 socordia;
	num rebus	D 418 num is, rebus;
	instruit	D 424 struit;
f. 17	iam flores	D 437 foribus;
	humi precipitet atque	D 438 in humum praecipitet ac;
	Agricola	D 439-40 Agricola noster;
	livor turget	D 443 livor tinget;
	quibus parasti	D 448 quibus parandis;
f. 18	amicorum	A amicorum
		D 457 comicorum;
	accersire	D 462 accersere;
	erant	D 465 essent;
	seculum	D 468 mundum;
	Caput septimum	D 468 <i>om.</i> ;
	si quo	D 470 si qua;
f. 18v.	quartum et vicesimum (<i>in mar- gine add. etas auctoris</i>)	D 476 <i>add. om.</i> ;
	Nova	D 494 Nona;
f. 19	seculum	D 504 saeculum sit;
	singularissimus	D 507 praecipuus;
	in tabernam	D 522 in popinam aut oenopolium;
	fit	D 523 sit;

Z f. 19v. rusticus fueris illepidem non posse	D 534 rusticus habebis; D 538 illepidum; D 541 non esse (= <i>citation</i>);
f. 20 monastice. Caput octavum at ne prolixitati ee res sint	D 550 solitariae; D 551 attamen ne; D 558 loquacitati; D 559 eae res sunt;
f. 20v. regionis Iherusalem pacis non som- nium sed visionem commi- grare. Eia quid respectas? Quid restas? omnis secari, excidi diffugeris	A regionis D 573 religionis; D 575-6 Hierusalem advola! Quid re- spectas? Quid restitas?; D 577 omneis; D 582 secari, sineres excidi; D 583 effugeris;
f. 21 diram meritis ita afflictissimum Ecquid plura? molestias exiguas Illorum inauكتورatio	D 597 duram; D 599 commeritis; D 603 ita et afflictissimum; D 605 Quid plura?; D 613 exiguas molestias; D 614 Illius inauكتورatio;
f. 21v. delectat hilares ac iucundos. Sed ipsa	D 625 delectet; D 630 hilares etiam ac iucundos. Ve- rum; D 631 ipsam;
f. 22 Aliquo ait fuit certe sunt multa	D 641 Alioqui; D 645 inquiet; D 652 fiat; D 659 certo sunt multo;
f. 22v. in monasterio. Caput nonum perturbate non omnino sine vivere? Sed	D 661 in secessu.; A perturbate D 662 perturbare; D 670 omnino non; D 671 nisi; D 673-5 vivere? Non, hercle, magis quam liberi sunt equi et asini qui frenis ac stimulis quocunque lubitu (A lubitum) est sessori circum- guntur. Sed;
f. 22v. quot uno Quid et si	D 678 quot vix uno; D 681 Quid si et;
f. 23 inter prostibula Sed iamdudum odiosam aut supplicii metu aut quum pugno	D 689 inter prostibulas; D 700 Verum iamdudum ociosam; D 704 vel supplicii metu vel; D 705 qui pugno;

Z f. 23v. pristino <i>corr.</i> pistrino Porro servire	D 710 pistrino; D 714 Porro ut scite noster scripsit Hegius: servire;
f. 24 dominis viciis parere refert nihil laboramus in prelio egerint ac sua salute tuenda quam- maxima immanior	D 728 dominis (vitiis dico) parere; D 735-6 refert si non nihil labamur; D 737 in praelio fortiter egerint; D 739-40 suaque salute tuenda quam maxime; A immanior D 743 imanior; D 750 in secessu; D 750 nusquam tanta; D 751 Solitarios; D 751 <i>om.</i> ; D 752 commemorarit; D 754 ille ridet; D 760-1 alloquentisve vocem; D 762 cura; D 779 secessus; D 780 quoque quoties; D 782 convivis; D 785 passus est Christus; D 793 furor corripisset;
f. 24v. in monasteriis nusquam igitur tanta Monachos Caput decimum commemoraverit hic ridet alloquentisne vocem curia	A hinc D 803 hic; D 806 poscit ut; D 809 quicquid agis; D 810-1 praeterire queo (tametsi); D 812 Cratetis; D 822 nihil commodius; D 823 Cratetis; D 827-8 ut fecit ille; D 829 extrema; D 831 virtutis; D 842 Nihil profecto minus; D 843 fugientem; D 851 obnoxii vivere; D 852 malitiae evasere; D 853 eis malitiae (= <i>citation</i>); D 856 Verum ut hoc; D 867 praeclare illa; D 869 Evasisse putes (= <i>citation</i>); D 876 conata (= <i>citation</i>); D 886 offenderet; D 893 ipsa hominis malicia; D 897 nihilo obscurius;
f. 25 recessus que quotiens conviviis passus Christus	
f. 25v. foror corripuisset hic	
poscit, ne quid agis praeterire (tametsi)	
f. 26 Cratis mihi commodius Cratis ut ille externa virtuti	
f. 26v. Nihil quidem minus fugantem obnoxie vivere nequicie evasere eis nequicie	
f. 27 Verum hoc preclara illa Evasisse potes tonata	
f. 27v. offenderit ipsa sua nequicia nihil obscurius	

Z f. 28 utrunque	D 915 utcunque;
Ita equidem	D 917 Sic equidem;
monachorum. Caput ultimum	D 925 vitae solitariae;
f. 28v. esse tamen	D 931 omneis tamen;
depingis	D 938 appingis;
f. 29 effugandorum	D 948 effugiendorum;
proferimus	D 950 perferimus;
fervore	D 953 foenore;
etiam anima	D 963 etiam animo;
cecus	D 967 secus;
f. 29v. illa vita	D 984-5 ulla vita;
Quamquam hoc	D 986 Quanquam haec;
assequi nequeat	D 988 percipi nequeat;
f. 30 omnis	D 999 omnes;
secretus	D 1006 secretius;
f. 30v. plerique secularium	D 1017 plerique mundi cultores;
sint meminerunt	D 1027 sunt meminerunt;
f. 31 monialem	D 1040 monacham;
enim vero alterutrus	D 1041 enim alterutrus;
utrique loco, re, specie	D 1042 utrique, ut loco, ut specie;
sororia pietas	D 1051 fraterna ac sororia pietas;
diximus	D 1056 dicimus;
f. 31v. pro se oret	D 1063 pro se Deum oret;
ut Atheniensis ille. At	D 1075-6 quemadmodum Argivus ille apud Flaccum. At;
nostra valet	D 1082 nostra non valet;
f. 32 concitare	D 1091 citare;
f. 32v. inter aconita	D 1108 in aconita;
ut studiosum	D 1121 et studiosum;
f. 33 te aut istic	D 1122 te istic;
deterri	D 1123 detertere;
illecebre quam	D 1124 illecebrae quae;
contare in	D 1128 contare utrum in;
herere ne an evolare	D 1129 haerere an ab istis evolare;
f. 33v. consisti	D 1145 consistit;
recte	D 1146 certe;
amittas. Vale.	D 1151-3 amittas. Postremo nihil erit arduum quod sibi vehementer impe- rarit animus, nihil desperandum quod opitulante Christo moliaris.

Cet aperçu suggère quelques conclusions. C'est en pesant chaque mot qu'Érasme a retouché çà et là le texte original de son *Epistola*. C'est avant tout le caractère monastique de son traité qu'il a voulu atténuer. Les commentateurs admettent en général qu'il a composé ce premier

écrit durant son séjour à Steyn¹⁴. En 1521, Érasme éprouve visiblement un certain embarras à se servir d'un terme tel que *vita monastica*. Il n'a maintenu ce terme qu'une seule fois, mais il l'atténue aussitôt en ajoutant: "id est solitaria tranquillaque" (D 36). Le changement apporté au titre de son ouvrage se situe dans le même contexte. Chaque fois que le texte le permettait tant soit peu, Érasme l'a retouché dans ce sens. C'est ainsi que *vita monastica* devient délibérément *vita solitaria* (D 550), *monasterium* est remplacé par *secessus* (D 661 et 750), *monachus* par *solitarius* (D 751), et *vita monachorum* par *vita solitaria* (D 925), mais en certains endroits le sens de la phrase ne permettait pas le changement des termes *monasterium* (D 118 et 937) et *monachi* (D 116 et 629). Ces réécritures ne trahissent pourtant nullement les idées fondamentales de la première rédaction. Elles mettent néanmoins en lumière l'état d'esprit d'Érasme à l'égard de la vie monastique au moment où il publiait son traité.

Dans leur ensemble les leçons de Z sont tout à fait indépendantes des quatre éditions que Dresden a collationnées dans son apparat critique; et par rapport aux variantes qui y sont notées, les leçons de Z concordent le plus souvent avec le texte de l'édition princeps (A)¹⁵.

Dans l'un ou l'autre passage, en ajoutant une ou plusieurs phrases, Érasme a rendu son texte original sensiblement plus clair: ainsi D 122-123, 145, 268-271 et 673-675. Il n'a notablement abrégé son texte qu'une seule fois en D 575-576, où il a récrit en majeure partie sa première rédaction.

En relisant celle-ci, Érasme a vérifié avec soin les citations et, le cas échéant, les a corrigées minutieusement. Le plus souvent, ces corrections n'affectent qu'un seul mot. La liste ci-dessus des variantes en donne quelques exemples: D 134, 154, 300, 316, 371, 541, 853, 869 et 876. Deux fois cependant la citation dans Z est plus correcte que dans l'édition princeps: D 221 et 577. Une seule fois, le nom de l'auteur cité, omis dans Z, est ajouté dans l'édition princeps: «ut scite noster scripsit Hegius» (D 714). Ailleurs (D 440) Érasme a accolé «noster» au nom d'Agricola. Certaines modifications ne voulaient

¹⁴ *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia*, V, I, p. 34-35.

¹⁵ Le texte de Z correspond une seule fois avec une variante de B (793); deux fois avec BC (126-7 et 312); 13 fois avec C (256-7, 323, 330, 376, 597, 406, 494, 681, 689, 700, 737, 752, 963); deux fois avec B-D (631 et 762); 4 fois avec B-D (438, 465, 491, 967) et 5 fois avec D (659, 740, 829, 984, 1108). Huit fois aucune des variantes citées ne correspond avec la leçon de Z (219, 221, 369, 462, 576, 583, 704-5 et 999).

qu'améliorer le vocabulaire ou la construction grammaticale. En voici quelques exemples: D 116, 123, 144-145, 255, 362, 369, 376, 383, 438, 448, 534, 843, 893, 953, 1017 et 1042.

L'espace blanc dans Z f. 16v. devant le mot «Sybillas» s'explique vraisemblablement par l'impossibilité où se trouvait le copiste de déchiffrer ce mot dans son modèle. Rien ne permet de supposer que le copiste n'a pas su lire ce mot du seul fait qu'il était écrit en lettres grecques. D'ailleurs, dans la deuxième partie du ms. au f. 157v, le copiste a transcrit quelques mots en caractères grecs, bien que maladroitement et non sans fautes.

A propos de *ululas Athenas* (D 6), nous lisons en Z f. 8 dans la marge inférieure la scholie suivante: «Ululas Athenas id est noctuas Athenas, subaudis mittis aut portas, hoc est doctiorem doces aut diviti donas aut denique largiris quod illi domi abundat. Abundant Athenis ulule, propterea quod Minerve sacra est hec avis propter oculos cesios quibus etiam in tenebris videt». Cette scholie n'est probablement pas de la main d'Érasme, car on ne la trouve dans aucune édition.

La découverte de la première rédaction du *De contemptu mundi* d'Érasme n'est pas sans importance. Elle nous permet d'étudier l'attitude du grand humaniste dans son âge mûr à l'égard d'une œuvre de jeunesse, où il défendait une conception de la vie monastique qui n'était plus la même quelques trente ans plus tard. Les modifications sont pourtant conformes à ce que l'auteur nous dit dans son Épître liminaire qu'il a rédigée postérieurement. Ces différences, somme toute minimes, ne justifieraient nullement une édition intégrale du manuscrit de Zwolle. En dehors de l'atténuation de la terminologie monastique, ce n'est qu'en cinq endroits qu'Érasme a apporté à son texte des changements réels qui ne déforment en rien l'esprit du traité et qu'on ne peut certes pas comparer aux idées formulées dans le texte surajouté, le chapitre XII¹⁶. On peut d'ailleurs se demander pourquoi en 1521 Érasme jugea utile de publier cet écrit tombé dans l'oubli. Des amis l'y ont-ils poussé? Était-ce, au moment où on chantait partout ses louanges, un souci de publier jusqu'au moindre de ses écrits¹⁷? Le manuscrit de Zwolle

¹⁶ *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia*, V, I, p. 30-34.

¹⁷ Cf. Épître liminaire, D 2-4: «Saepe questus sum, optime lector, me gravari studiis amicorum qui me vivo et reclamante evulgant quaslibet nugae quas puer etiam exercendi stili gratia lusi nihil minus cogitans quam ut in hominum manus venirent». Ou bien Érasme craignait-il qu'à son insu quelqu'un d'autre s'aviserait de publier ce traité?

prouve cependant que la première rédaction connaissait une diffusion manuscrite.

Grâce à ce manuscrit nous découvrons un jeune Érasme familiarisé avec les auteurs anciens et déjà passé maître dans l'art de manier la langue latine. Dans son âge mûr, l'illustre humaniste a jugé son œuvre de jeunesse digne d'être publiée, se contentant d'apporter quelques légères corrections aux citations, au vocabulaire et à la construction grammaticale.

Nous espérons avoir montré que — même pour l'édition d'un auteur dont les œuvres ont été répandues presque uniquement par l'imprimerie — la recherche d'une tradition manuscrite, si limitée soit-elle, doit trouver sa place dans les études préparatoires.

K. Universiteit Leuven
Instituut Middeleeuwse Studies.

Erika RUMMEL

THE USE OF GREEK IN ERASMUS' LETTERS*

Erasmus' age saw a growing interest in Greek studies which so far had not been readily accessible because of a lack of texts and a scarcity of teachers¹. Erasmus himself did much to advance Greek philology by editing and translating classical authors as well as by promoting the teaching of Greek in schools and universities².

Despite opposition from conservative quarters who saw their authority endangered, the study of ancient Greek progressed and the number of bilingual scholars increased. An interesting side-effect of this development was the introduction of Greek terms and phrases into Latin composition either for their gratifying stylistic effect or as a token of scholarship. To explore this practice in Erasmus' correspondence is the subject of our inquiry³.

* Unless otherwise noted, letter references are to P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Oxford 1906-46. Passages from the *Copia* are quoted in B. I. Knott's translation in *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, Toronto 1978, vol. 24.

¹ In a letter to Botzheim, Erasmus says about the conditions prevailing in his youth: "There was then a scarcity of Greek texts and good teachers no less" (Allen 1.7.21f). On the state of Greek studies in the Renaissance see e.g. R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 331-33; for Erasmus' position see H. Dibbelt, "Erasmus' Griechische Studien", *Gymnasium* 57 (1950) 55-71; M. Phillips, "Erasmus and the Classics", *Erasmus*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1970), pp. 1-30.

² Erasmus translated, among others, works of Euripides, Plutarch and Lucian; he also made available in Latin Gaza's Greek grammar. The importance of Greek is stressed throughout his writings, see e.g. *De ratione studii*, CWE 24, 667:1-6: "At the outset boys must be instructed in two [languages]—Greek, of course, and Latin. This is not only because almost everything worth learning is set forth in these two languages, but in addition because each is so cognate to the other that both can be more quickly assimilated when they are taken in conjunction than one without the other, or at least Latin without Greek." Compare *De recta pronuntiatione*, LB 1 923Eff = *Opera Omnia* (ASD) I, 4, p. 32. Erasmus was instrumental in the establishment of the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, see De Vocht, *History of the Foundation ...*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 10 (1951), p. 271 ff.

³ On this aspect of Erasmus' correspondence see Allen, vol. 1, appendix VI, "Erasmus at Cambridge", p. 592. We are concerned here only with occasional Greek words or

A writer's choice of expressions is generally determined by two factors: word quality and context. Although the two criteria cannot always be separated in practice, it may be useful to distinguish between them for organizational purposes and to consider separately terms functioning through their inherent qualities and expressions serving as contextual clues or indicators of the author's mood.

The first aspect which is concerned with the meaning, composition and evocative property of a word is treated at some length by Erasmus himself in the *Copia*⁴. It remains for us to illustrate his theories with examples from his writing practice.

The second aspect, the question in what context Greek words are used or should be used, is barely touched upon by Erasmus. Indeed, this topic exceeds the subject area of the *Copia* or at least cannot be dealt with in the summary fashion that characterizes this work. In this area, then, we are left to draw our own conclusions.

Evidence from Erasmus' letters suggests that the use of Greek often signals emotional involvement. Expressions of anger, exasperation and hostility, but also of awe, respect and affection are clothed in Greek. The function of Greek words varies: they operate as signals or as camouflage. They may punctuate an expression like an exclamation mark, check its flow like a hyphen, or take the place of quotation marks. Thus each Greek word affects the reader through its inherent qualities, but also transmits a message *per se*, through its foreign character.

I. Word Quality

Erasmus comments on the use of Greek in the *Copia* under the heading of *New Words*. In general he considers it an effective rhetorical device but cautions the reader against excesses:

"To produce a half-Greek, half-Latin mixture ... may possibly be forgiven in the young who are endeavouring to acquire facility in both languages, but in grown men, in my opinion, such exhibitionism would be quite out of place."⁵

phrases inserted into a Latin text, not the "Greek letters" exchanged between Erasmus and Budé.

⁴ CWE 24, 317-319 (Latin text in LB I 12A-13A).

⁵ CWE 318:6-10. This reproach could presumably be brought against Budé. See e.g. Epp. 744,924.

- More specifically Erasmus advocates the use of a Greek word when it
- is more vivid and forceful than its Latin equivalent;
 - has a certain charm that would be lost in translation;
 - offers a concise term for a circuitous Latin expression;
 - has become the standard term and is without parallel in Latin.

We find all of these suggestions implemented in the correspondence as the following outline will demonstrate.

Erasmus favours a Greek word over its Latin synonym if it is *significanti*or, more meaningful and expressive. He cites as examples λογομαχία (lit. "word-fight") which he prefers to abstract Latin nouns like *contentio* or *rixa* (both meaning "quarrel") because it provides a vivid image⁶.

In his own letters Erasmus used Greek for more concrete and picturesque language, calling public highways "host-bearing" roads (λεωφόρους); slanderous critics "false-spoken" and "mean-tongued" (ψευδολόγοι, κακόγλωσσοι); gluttons "stomach's slaves" (γαστροδούλοι) and opponents of learning "Muse-haters" (μισόμουσοι)⁷. These words are effective because they are descriptive and specific, offering in a single word an example or illustration of a concept or characteristic element.

In addition, Erasmus recommends Greek words that are more forceful than their Latin equivalents. As example he mentions γυναικομανής, mad after women, which has more vehemence than Latin *mulierosus*, womanizing⁸. The Greek word is not only more vivid and expressive, it also contains an element of exaggeration. The use of Greek for its hyperbolic quality is well documented in Erasmus' letters.

In joyful exuberance he calls a friend ἡμίθεος, a demi-god; wishing a companion wealth and prosperity he says: "May you become wholly gilded (δλόχρυσος)." Similar overstatements clothed in Greek describe the activities of his opponents. Their criticism is his "complete ruin"; he is fighting an "all-out war" against "wild beasts"⁹. The defender of pure language, on the other hand, is described as a "scourge of barbarians" whose success is a "Bacchic triumph"¹⁰. Such ideas

⁶ CWE 317:13-14.

⁷ Epp 1659:61; 151:1; 936:60; 1875:132; 939:32. Some of Erasmus' correspondents use equally descriptive terms: μισόκαλος (Vergara, 1814:478); ἀλεξίκακος (Amerbach, 1084:5); δολοτέχνης (Melancthon, 910:9).

⁸ CWE 317:15-16.

⁹ 2191:65, 1478:9, 396:93, 1659:81, 1678:25; compare θεομαχεῖν in 758:14, an expression also used by Vives, 1222:29.

¹⁰ 182:71, 1893:52.

could presumably also be expressed in Latin, but only in a circuitous manner. Erasmus recognizes this shortcoming of the Latin language and comments :

“It sometimes happens that we either have to express our meaning by a circumlocution, or borrow from the Greeks.”¹¹

He illustrates this case with the term φίλαυτος, self-loving, an expression which would require a relative clause in Latin : *is qui sibi placet*, one who is pleased with himself. Other convincing examples cited by him are πολυπραγμοσύνη, meddlesomeness; δυσωπία, shamefacedness; and ταυτολογία, saying the same thing twice. In each of these examples the Greek achieves conciseness by compounding, a practice which can rarely be duplicated in Latin prose.

In his letters Erasmus shows a preference for Greek compound adjectives, making frequent use of words formed with φιλ-, πολυ-, ὁμο- and συν-¹². Although equivalent compounds exist in Latin, their use is normally restricted to poetry and generally avoided in classical prose. Erasmus acknowledges these characteristics with an air of regret : “The Greeks had a wonderful knack for forming compounds, and the Latin poets sometimes achieved a like felicity when imitating them, but the Latin orators never seemed to be quite so successful at it.”¹³

In the examples given so far Greek serves an exegetic purpose. It represents a concept either more vividly or with greater economy and clarity, thus facilitating the transfer of information from the author to the reader. A different effect is produced when a Greek word is chosen for its *venustas*, its charm and wit. Such a word does not immediately help to clarify the meaning of a sentence, on the contrary it tests the reader’s perceptiveness by confronting him with a kind of riddle whose significance he must guess.

Erasmus’ example of a *vox venusta* is μωρόσοφος, one who thinks himself wise though he is a fool. The term delights by its juxtaposition of the opposites μωρός (foolish) and σοφός (wise). Erasmus creates a

¹¹ CWE 318:19-20.

¹² E.g. φίλαυτος (1832:61), φιλόκαινος (1587:178), φιλόγλωττος (1856:66); πολύγλωττος (710:2), πολυγράφος (1000:22), πολύτεχνος (1384:8); ὁμοπάτρις (928:44), ὁμόσηφος (245:31), ὁμοτράπεζος (2073:88); συνεργός (1805:120), συμπαθεῖν (1804:281). Compare contemporary usage: ὁμόσηφος (W. Capito, 1374:43, B. Amerbach, 2267:50); πολυγραφώτατος (Ursinus Velius, 851:34); φιλαλήθως/(Budé, 1812:64).

¹³ CWE 311:15-17.

similar effect by calling monks *πτωχοτύραννοι*, beggar-tyrants¹⁴. Both terms present the reader with a paradox that contains a striking truth if interpreted correctly.

Another example cited in the *Copia* is *μετεωρολεσχεῖν* (stargazing) which is explained as "prating about involved but useless matters". The Greek word is *venustior* because it contains a metaphor and an allusion to Greek comedy in which the sophists were derided as "stargazers"¹⁵. Erasmus combines the same elements when he uses the word *ὄνειροπόλος* (busy with dreams) to denote someone who makes wild guesses or when he calls a first literary work *προγυμνάσματα* (warm-up exercises). Both terms are used metaphorically and have a classical sphere of reference¹⁶. Their full meaning only reveals itself to the reader who can recognize the metaphor and recall the classical connection. Of course such terms would lose their appeal in translation. The same reasoning applies to quotations and proverbial expressions.

Adages and well-known quotations are best left in the original language or they cannot produce the association, the conditioned response, the feeling of recognition and acceptance that makes them effective in the first place. A quote from Homer, for instance, has a familiar ring and a poetic appeal that is lost in translation :

"If, for example, in reprimanding someone for speaking without thinking, we quote Homer's line *ποῖον ἔπος ...* [What a word escaped...] or, in pointing out that someone has failed to keep to the point at issue, we say in Greek *ἄμας ἀπήτουν* [I was needing sickles]. If we were to say in Latin *falces petebam*, all the attractiveness disappears"¹⁷.

A survey of quotations found in Erasmus' letters shows first of all a preference for the well-known and familiar. He does not aim at displaying recondite learning, but chooses expressions that are proverbial or whose author can be readily identified by the educated reader and therefore establishes a rapport between the writer and the ad-

¹⁴ CWE 317:18, Ep 1875:32; compare *πτωχοπλόυσοι*, the title of a Colloquy.

¹⁵ CWE 317:17-18—Lucian (*Icar*. 5) uses this term; Aristophanes (*Clouds* 333) has *μετεωροφένακας*, astrological knaves. Compare *φροντιστήριον*, thinking-shop (*Clouds* 94), used by Ulsenius 138:26 (H. Rupprich, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtes*, Munich 1934).

¹⁶ 2095:23 — *ὄνειροπόλος* is used by Plato, *Rep.* 534C, to denote the actions of someone who relies on *δόξα*, opinion, instead of *ἐπιστήμη*, knowledge; 2274:23 — Isocrates, *Ant.* 266, calls disputation "gymnastic of the mind and preparation for philosophy".

¹⁷ CWE 317:21-26.

dressee¹⁸. Homer is Erasmus' most popular choice of literary source, followed by Aristophanes and the tragic poets Euripides and Sophocles. Among the prose authors, Plato and Plutarch are most prominent. In many cases it may be assumed that Cicero acted as intermediary, introducing a Latin readership to a Greek quotation. Among the numerous quotations found in Erasmus' correspondence a few favourites emerge which make their appearance half a dozen times or more :

- ἀπὸ μηχανῆς (θεός), an expression still familiar today in its Latin form *deus ex machina*. Plato is our oldest extant source for the Greek expression¹⁹
- ἵππον εἰς πεδίον, (to send) the horse to scour the plain, i.e. to challenge a person to do what he is best at—another expression found first in Plato²⁰
- χρύσεια χαλκείων, (to exchange) gold for bronze, a reference to Glaucon's rash action related by Homer²¹
- συγκρητίζειν, Cretan with Cretan (stands), i.e. to collaborate—used in this sense by Plutarch²²
- τὴν λεοντῆν, (to put on) the lionskin, used by Plato²³
- ἀνεμώλια, wind-eggs, a Homeric expression²⁴.

Other proverbial expressions that occur repeatedly include Ἰλιάς κακῶν, an Iliad of misfortunes²⁵, ὁμοίος ὁμοίῳ, like to like²⁶, ἄσπονδος πόλεμος, all-out warfare²⁷, σπεῦδε βραδέως, make haste not waste²⁸, πάντα περὶ πάντων, everything about everything²⁹, ἐξ

¹⁸ A similar case could be made for Erasmus' Latin quotations. A glance over the quotations from any decade in his correspondence reveals Vergil, Horace and Cicero as his favourite sources.

¹⁹ 1.38.7, 447:453, 1218:2, 1225:318, 1233:14, 1345:4 etc., cf. *Ad.* 1.1.68, Plato *Crat.* 425D.

²⁰ 305:3, 742:17-18, 1701:30, 2419:32 etc., cf. *Ad.* 1.8.82, Plato *Theaet.* 183D.

²¹ 140:26, 234:3, 307:40, 428:49, 2315:130 etc., cf. *Ad.* 1.2.1, Homer *Il.* 6.234ff.

²² 620:38, 930:9, 947:20, 1050:4, 2119:4 etc., cf. *Ad.* 1.2.29, Plutarch *Mor.* 490B.

²³ 173:27, 283:83, 337:526, 531:26, 906:409-410 etc., cf. *Ad.* 1.3.96, Plato *Crat.* 411A.

²⁴ 505:13, 1347:314, 1746:14, 2261:65, 2516:58 etc., cf. *Ad.* 3.7.21, Homer *Il.* 4.355.

²⁵ 530:11, 887:2, 1437:120, 2874:141 etc., cf. *Ad.* 1.3.26.

²⁶ 855:23, 1564:20, 1855:60, 2523:38; cf. *Ad.* 1.2.21.

²⁷ 906:4, 1659:81, 1744:103, 2443:156; cf. *Ad.* 3.3.84.

²⁸ 1832:7, 1962:19, 2756:2; cf. *Ad.* 2.1.1.

²⁹ 138:125, 1832:34-35, 2813:18, 2846:123-124; cf. *Ad.* 2.4.16.

ἀμάξης, in the carnival spirit (lit. "from the band-wagon")³⁰, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος, nothing relevant³¹.

Apart from the recurrence of individual proverbs one also notices Erasmus' preference for a certain word pattern, phrases that are effective through repetition and pairing of positive and negative words. Πάντα περὶ πάντων has already been mentioned above. In addition we find: ἀδεὲς δέος, to fear where no fear is; ἀβίωτον εἶναι τὸν βίον a life not worth living; ἄδωρα δῶρα, gifts that are no gifts; and ἄξενον εἶναι καὶ πολὺξενον, he who has many friends has no friends³². This preference is also carried over into Greek phrases composed by Erasmus himself, such as "speakable and unspeakable alike", "more foolish than Folly", "unscholarly scholars", "to love a lover" etc.³³

The large number of quotations, their wide range and the relatively low incidence of repetition evidence Erasmus' learning and familiarity with classical literature. One might expect the translator of Euripides, Plutarch, Lucian, Isocrates and Galen to quote, if not exclusively, then to a large extent, from these sources. One may assume that Erasmus was influenced in his choice of quotations by the literature he read, edited or translated at any given time. This is demonstrable to some extent³⁴ but to take this approach to Erasmus' usage would mean to give it a limited interpretation and to take a narrow view of his learning. Generally speaking he did not choose what was relevant to him personally because of his literary output or involvement at the time, but selected the most quotable and the most familiar, showing at the same time a wealth of knowledge and an astonishing ability to draw from his repertory the right expression, the one demanded by the occasion at hand.

Perhaps more significant than the use of other men's salient remarks are an author's own creations. Original Erasmian Greek is, for the most part, confined to short phrases that do not require any skill in composition and syntax from the author, or any profound knowledge of Greek from the reader. Many of his expressions consist of a nucleus of one or two words bolstered by the addition of articles, prepositions

³⁰ 550:4, 990:37, 1113:11; cf. *Ad.* 1.7.73.

³¹ 282:16, 298:8, 1824:44, 1858:174; cf. *Ad.* 1.5.45.

³² 2576:59, 2892:156, 534:19, 756:37.

³³ 2077:18, 250:20, 421:30-31, 1885:106.

³⁴ Galen, for example, was published in the spring of 1526. Ep. 1701 (April 1526) contains a quotation from Pindar which occurs in Galen; Ep. 1707:22 (May 1526) mentions the Homeric *Litae* who are described in Galen.

and conjunctions, an agglomeration of words offering more volume than content. Examples of phrases inflated in this manner are: καὶ τούτῳ τὸν ἔρωτα, and this-here lover; οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκεῖνος, such a man is he, τυπογράφον καὶ τοῦτόν γε ἄξιον ἡμῶν, a printer and indeed one worthy of us, καὶ ταῦτα μάλα λακωνικῶς, and this very briefly; ὁ γραμματοφόρος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεῖνος, this man, the best of couriers³⁵. In other cases the “phrase” is in fact a series of single words, a string of related expressions or a pair of synonyms: “you object and oppose”, “an autograph and archetype”, “jest, harangues, urbane and witty remarks or jokes”, “self-taught, late-taught ... untaught, quite uneducated.”³⁶

Grammatical structure in these phrases is kept to very basic forms: nouns or verbs linked by “and” or listed asyndetically; a noun modified by an adjective or another noun in the genitive; an impersonal verb followed by an infinitive³⁷. More elaborate constructions are rare. Many phrases have a pre-cast, formulaic character, as apparent from the similarity in form and repetitive use: “to speak in Homeric fashion”, “to speak like Homer”, “to speak summarily”³⁸; “according to the proverb”, “according to Homer”, “according to my ability”³⁹. One phrase, “to do things properly” occurs in the same form in three different letters dated within a month of each other⁴⁰.

The preference for short and simple phrases is not a reflection on Erasmus’ ability to express himself in Greek—his skill is amply demonstrated in his “Greek letters” to Budé⁴¹—but is founded on considerations for the genre of letter-writing which demands brevity, conciseness and a certain measure of spontaneity⁴². Lengthy and elaborate sections of continuous Greek prose would therefore be inappropriate or at any rate eccentric and quite obviously more epideictic than functional.

In his use of original Greek, Erasmus shows himself a skilful punster

³⁵ 2720:18, 867:47, 531:526, 1832:17, 722:2.

³⁶ 421:38, 2466:252, 2431:158, 531:102-103, compare 180:128, 2479:9f.

³⁷ For enumerations see previous note; noun & adjective: 531:191, 421:128, 456:196, 1342:170; noun and genitive: 842:13, 240:36, 245:21, 248:24, 505:1; impersonal verb & infinitive: 1966:11, 2736:1, 245:33, 421:108, 240:30, 758:14 (with the verb either in Latin or Greek).

³⁸ 480:169, 855:1-2 (compare 2379:448), 480:135.

³⁹ 108:90 (compare 796:2, 2860:25-26), 234:3, 540:28 (compare 1.14.38).

⁴⁰ 240:30, 248:22, 250:6.

⁴¹ Cf. note 3 above.

⁴² Cf. *De epistolis conscribendis* LB I 345 A - 347 A.

and cheerful inventor of novel expressions that would inject a note of humour or sarcasm into his text.

He is especially fond of puns on names, playing frequently on the similarity of his own name to Greek ἐράσμιος, beloved⁴³. He repeatedly uses Homer's Ate, the goddess of mischief, as a stand-in for Louvain's chancellor Atensis⁴⁴. He maliciously corrupts Georgius Logus' name, calling him ἄλογος, speechless, unreasoning⁴⁵. In a spirit of friendship and affectionate cheer he wishes Huttich εὐτύχει (good luck!) and credits ἀγαθὴ τύχη (good fortune) for meeting up with Agathius⁴⁶.

Other examples of puns relying on similarities between two Greek words are the distinction between αἶνεσις and παραίνεσις (less praise than protreptic)⁴⁷; the wordplay θεολόγος/ματαιολόγος (a divine who talks vain), παραφράσις/παραφρόνησις (paraphrase/parody)⁴⁸; or the acknowledgment that his poor handwriting makes a letter more of a *cacograph* than an *autograph*⁴⁹.

We also find such Erasmiana as λυκιανίζειν, "lucianizing", Λυκοφρώνειον, "a Lycophronic obscurity", Θρασωνισμός, "Thrasonism", i.e. to act the parasite, and the slightly off-colour λεοναρδιοποιεῖν "leonardofacturing"⁵⁰.

In the examples presented so far, the use of Greek was optional. An equivalent Latin word or phrase existed but the author preferred to use the Greek because he considered it more expressive, concise or witty. There are other instances, however, where a Greek word is used of necessity, because a Latin term is lacking. Often it has already been adopted in antiquity and has become a part of the Latin language. In this case the use of Greek is automatic and the word may not represent a conscious choice. If, however, the Greek alphabet is used or Greek inflections are added, we have at least an indication of the author being aware of the word's origin.

In this context it may be relevant to consider the question of script.

⁴³ E.g. 462:3, 2874:85, 245:16; cf. contemporary usage 683:13, 1.58.57.

⁴⁴ 998:4. On this topic see M. Phillips in the introduction to *Antibarbari*, CWE 23,13.

⁴⁵ 2810:4.

⁴⁶ 550:11; Greek εὐ is pronounced like the *u* in the name Huttich, see *De pronuntiatione* LB I 938E; 1221:35. Compare Watson's pun on Duns Scotus and σκότος, darkness, obscurity, in 576:8, also used by Erasmus in *Colloquies*, ASD 1-3 412.

⁴⁷ 179:42.

⁴⁸ 2170:7, 710:30.

⁴⁹ 2213:25.

⁵⁰ 245:33, 1342:264, 480:206, 1626:27 ("leonardofacturing" is elsewhere explained by another Greek verb as "bedwrestling", κλινωπαλεῖν — 1650:57).

Erasmus' own convention suggests that script and inflection are largely matters of variety. Thus we find within one sentence *protasis* in Roman script, but ἐπίτασις in Greek letters; other words like *typographos*, *zelotypia*, *paroxysmos* occur sometimes in Greek font with Greek endings, at other times in their Latinized form⁵¹. The Greek word for "vain talker" appears at one time as *mataeologum*, with a Latinized diphthong and ending, at another time as ματαιολόγον, in its native spelling, inflection and script⁵². It is therefore an editorial and organizational decision that only terms in Greek font are used to illustrate the points made in this article. The variety in spelling and script suggests that such a rigid division did not exist in the writer's mind.

Erasmus cites as examples of Greek words which are employed because of their unique meaning: *philosophos* and *theologos*, words which have no equivalent in Latin; *rhetor* and *sycophanta* which have been coopted into Latin by classical authors; *grammatica* and *dialectica* as standard technical terms⁵³.

We can add to this list examples from Erasmus' own usage: ἡχώ, ἐφήμερος, τυπογράφος—all lacking corresponding Latin terms; ἀνώνυμος, αὐτόγραφος—introduced and adopted by classical writers; μείωσις, lessening, καιρός, timeliness,—grammatical terms used by Quintilian and Cicero which have become standard⁵⁴.

Generally speaking, all use of Greek terms may be qualified as contributing to *copia*, abundance of style. But, as demonstrated, there are additional criteria which prompt a writer to choose a Greek over a Latin term. In most cases the choice does not simply enrich a sentence, but also contributes to its effectiveness as a tool of communication. There are only a few instances in which variation appears to

⁵¹ 1875:33 and 34; 2095:61 and 421:53; 250:14 and 1593:39; 855:60 and 1610:92.

⁵² 939:63, 778:23.

⁵³ *Copia*, CWE 318:27 - 319:8 "There are quite a number of Greek words which were given Latin citizenship in the classical period, and these may be used just like native Latin ones, for example, *rhetor/orator*; *hypothea/pignus*... In some cases the borrowed word has become the standard one and there is no native Latin form, for example, *philosophus*, *theologus*, *grammatica*, *dialectica*, *epigramma*. With these words we can provide variety by declining them sometimes according to the Greek pattern, sometimes according to the Latin, for example, *scorpius/scorpio*...". *Rhetor* is used e.g. by Cicero *De or.* 1.18.84; *sycophanta* by Plautus *Poen.* 5.2.72.

⁵⁴ 1333:63, 1470:27, 421:53; 326:50, 906:569; 906:285, 139:75. For examples from other works see D. F. S. Thomson, "The Latinity of Erasmus", *Erasmus* (ed. T. A. Dorey) London 1970, p. 129.

be the principal motive, where Erasmus set equivalent Latin and Greek expressions side by side. Here are a few examples of this highly rhetorical practice :

- *non commote aut* πανικῶς : not in panic or commotion
- *sincerorum planeque* γνησίων *amicorum* : sincere and obviously true friends
- *vociferantur* καὶ σχετλιάζουσιν : there was an outcry and indignant clamouring⁵⁵.

In these examples the coupled expressions are synonymous or closely related in meaning. It could be argued that the Greek adds emphasis or gravity to the statement, but on the whole, the impression created is one of rhetorical skill and finesse.

Although Erasmus keeps his usage largely to well-known vocabulary, his derivations are sometimes unusual. Thus we find forms like ἀδελφικώδης, ἐκτραγωδίζω, σκανδαλώδης, φλυαρεύς where we expect ἀδελφικός, ἐκτραγωδέω, σκάνδαλος, φλύαρος. Similarly we find nouns like φιλοκολακία, αὐτογραφία, ταχυγραφία whose formation is common enough, but which are not documented in Liddell-Scott, although the corresponding adjectives are listed⁵⁶. In addition there is a number of compounds which are not found in this particular combination elsewhere : words formed with -μαστιξ (βαρβαρομάστιξ, γλωττομάστιξ, λογομαστίγω) or -γλωττος (φιλογλώττος, τετράγλωττος)⁵⁷; also novel combinations that carry a witty, sarcastic or hyperbolic notion and seem to have been composed by Erasmus to suit the occasion : παραπρεσβεύω, ἐπιφήτης (combined with προφήτης), ἀρχιτύραννος, θερμοζήλος, οἰνοκλέπτης, παλαιονέος etc.⁵⁸ Such terms are certainly innovative but otherwise neither startling nor taxing the reader's linguistic skills since the component parts of these words are wellknown as vocabulary and their formation follows classical examples.

A survey also allows us to establish a number of favourites which occur repeatedly and indeed frequently in Erasmus' letters. Among

⁵⁵ 146:80; 831:11, 456:75 (γνήσιος is, however, a popular word. Cf. 676:15, 1736:24, 2608:26 etc., compare Tunstall in 663:90 and Vives in 1847:74); compare also 1581:21 *sympresbyteros* - συνθεόλογος, one printed in Roman, the other in Greek letters; ἄμουςοι *ac philobarbari*, 1805:33; *obedit atque* ... πειθαρχεῖ 858:471; *sic tumultuamur*, *sic* κυβεύομεν, 413:47.

⁵⁶ 742:19, 373:86, 2406:8, 1735:36, 1206:108, 2867:35, 480:23.

⁵⁷ 182:71, 967:140, 704:37, 1856:66, 2079:21.

⁵⁸ 1735:22, 1756:76, 2682:14, 2485:14, 3095:18, 2799:6.

these are : ἀνεμάλιος, ἄμουσος, ἀνώνυμος, αὐτόγραφος, γνήσιος, γραμματοφόρος, λακωνικός, μνημόσυνον, ὁμόψηφος, πτωχοτύραννος, φίλαντος etc. Only a few of these are in fact genuine Erasmian favourites (as for instance γραμματοφόρος—his correspondents use *tabellarius* or *nuntius*), the majority are typical of contemporary preferences as can be seen from the following examples :

ἄμουσος — used by A. Ammonio, 236:55, Lethmaet, 1320:16, Caduceator, 1811:17, De Brie, 2021:19.

αὐτόγραφον — used by Du Castel, 2719:13, Goclenius, 2352:118, 222, 2369:47, 2851:24, L. Ammonio, 2082:14, compare Pistorius, 2333:8.

γνησίως — used by Tunstall, 663:90, Vives, 1847:74, Melanchthon, 2732:8, De Brie, 2405:146.

μνημόσυνον— used by L. Ammonio, 2197:70, Wm. of Cleves, 2234:16, Van Thuengen, 2314:40, Pelargus, 2673:7, Turzo, 2699:15.

πολυγράφος — used by A. Ammonio, 221:36, Budé, 435:78, Turzo, 851:34.

II. Context

Appeal and effectiveness of individual words is more easily demonstrated and explained than their significance in context. The questions which confront us here are : Can we associate the use of Greek with a certain frame of mind? Do certain subjects prompt the author to switch to Greek?

An examination of purpose and effect of Greek in a given context presents certain difficulties because proper illustration would require quoting at length, explaining and discussing the relationship between the correspondents. And even this would not settle conclusively the question whether Greek is the medium or the message, because an author's motives and intentions are not subject to rigorous proof. Consequently we cannot state with certainty whether Erasmus chose a Greek term deliberately to convey his mood or used it spontaneously, thus betraying his state of mind.

Examining the passages in which Erasmus employs Greek one senses a certain level of involvement, but also notices the variety of effects produced by this usage. Greek may signify commitment to a cause and accompany feelings of elation or indignation in which case it serves to highlight the mood and to underline the author's state of

mind. On the other hand, Erasmus also recommends and indeed applies, Greek for the purpose of secrecy, quite literally to keep couriers and servants out of his personal business and metaphorically to cover up for ambivalence. Greek may also have the effect of creating a distance between the writer and the content of his words which can be interpreted either as detachment or as deference, but because of its exclusive quality it may also serve to draw the correspondent closer and to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and friendship⁵⁹. Finally, Erasmus may employ Greek in a "Greek" context as the medium proper to the subject at hand.

To further the appreciation of classical languages and culture was one of Erasmus' lifelong quests and we find him enthusiastic in its praise, aggressive in its defense, deeply involved whenever this cause is at stake. It is therefore interesting to note that even casual mention of Greek culture causes him to "lapse" into Greek.

In grammar we speak of "attraction" to explain the apparent violation of concord; Erasmus' oblique use of Greek is a similar phenomenon. A Greek context prompts him to use Greek phrases. His speech becomes positively inspired by the Muses: lovers of ancient literature are φιλόμουσοι; those who cannot appreciate its beauty are ἄμουσοι; ancient culture is worshipped in the shrine of the Muses, the μουσεῖον⁶⁰. Fighting off his enemies Erasmus does not hesitate to call on the Muses in their own language. After all, the defenders of Greek civilization are the "generals of the Muses"⁶¹. Only a Greek word can describe the acolyte, the φιλέλλην, the lover of Greek culture, whose preoccupation is ἐλληνίζειν, the pursuit of Greek culture⁶².

Greek mythology and literature retain their native hue. Geryon is described as τρισώματον, three-bodied, and having μίαν ψυχήν, one soul; a Greek epithet adorns Venus (ἀναδυομένη - risen from the sea) and Ulysses (πολύτροπος - cunning); the names of Ares, Theseus

⁵⁹ *Copia*, CWE 318:3-6: "Finally we can use Greek words when we wish our meaning not to be understood by all and sundry; and—not to go through every possibility—whenever there is a certain convenience, we are justified in mixing Greek with Latin, especially when writing for the educated public".

⁶⁰ For compounds with μουσ — see e.g. 305:154, 222:2, 293:17, 1597:21, 930:9, 939:32, 1805:33, 193:21, 1.32.11, 364:44, 832:37. Such words were favourites with other humanists as well. Compare Bombasius 1213:5, Germain de Brie 620:39, Henry Caduceator 1811:17, J. Locher 261:5 (Rupprich).

⁶¹ Οἱ τῶν Μουσῶν στρατηγοί, 1597:17; for Erasmus' calling on the Muses see note 68 below.

⁶² 710:8; 1875:193; 1876:6, compare 1479:23.

and Hermes appear in Greek⁶³. Socrates' irony⁶⁴ and Demosthenes' rhetorical prowess⁶⁵ can only be described in Greek.

Greek words make their subtly appropriate appearance in Erasmus' preface to the *Annotations*, for after all he is dealing with problems of translation. Expressing his concerns he says :

"Whenever the ἰδιῶμα or ἔμφασις [the peculiar meaning or nuance] of a Greek expression has something about it that helps toward the underlying meaning, I was always ready to demonstrate this and make it visible."⁶⁶

The sentence itself conveys to the reader the necessity of interpreting Greek idioms, but the actual use of Greek terms adds another dimension to the statement. It serves as a practical demonstration of the difficulties involved in translating Greek idiom, and it also shows Erasmus' involvement and preoccupation with the language.

One of the more obvious functions of Greek is emphasis. As the Greek font stands out typographically and catches the eye of the reader, so in context, it may be used to arrest his attention. It may serve as a visual *nota bene*, an admonition, encouragement, or emphatic approval. It is not surprising therefore that we find a high incidence of imperatives and exclamations in Greek. Among the instructions and wishes we find: "Save your thrice-wretched Erasmus!" "Go on with what you are doing!" "Look and you will see!" "Go ahead with your building plans, and good luck!" "Don't trust him!" "Read this by yourself, in secrecy!"⁶⁷ Akin to these expressions are exclamations phrased in Greek. "By the Muses!" is Erasmus' favourite oath, εὖγε, well-done!, in its Greek form is another popular interjection⁶⁸. Other dramatic exclamations in Greek include: "O thrice-wretched man!" "What goings-on!" "Oh, what piety!" and a lengthy "There are indeed more bad than good men in this world!"⁶⁹

The context in which these Greek phrases are used often shows Erasmus either frustrated and exasperated or helpless in anger, reacting

⁶³ 1876:20, 1544:68, 800:4, 2631:47, 2794:11, 1053:131.

⁶⁴ 531:141.

⁶⁵ 1427:30; compare 194:22ff (concerning a "Greek friend", probably Hermonymus).

⁶⁶ 373:64ff.

⁶⁷ 551:15, 483:32, 1801:5, 480:281, 1735:37, 1437 (in the title).

⁶⁸ Calling on the Muses: 245:5, 452:12, 531:5, 291; 776:10, 870:2; compare contemporary practice: Germain de Brie, 569:184, Crucius, 1932:154, Budé to Tunstall, 583:392; εὖγε: 856:42, 906:459, 1053:228.

⁶⁹ 1082:18 (compare 3002:671), 796:17, 245:19, 942:20.

emotionally — in Greek. The emotional tenor is even more obvious when harsh criticism culminates in Greek expletives. Not surprisingly the word-list contains many terms that lend themselves to name-calling: babbling, illiterate, underhanded, decrepit, accursed; sycophant, croaker, beggar, wasp, liar, etc.¹⁰ The troublesome activities of Erasmus' critics are either summarily dismissed or significantly introduced in Greek as "the sycophants' bites", "the sad performance of beggar-tyrants", "complete nonsense", "disorganized clamouring"⁷¹. In each case the use of Greek is of course emphatic. It becomes the focal point in a passage of criticism, indicating involvement and drawing attention to the matter at hand.

Since a knowledge of Greek was not a common attainment, its use also had a certain restrictive quality. It created an air of confidentiality or even secrecy. It could therefore be used as an expression of fraternity, to establish rapport with fellow-scholars, as a uniting band between the lovers of ancient civilization. This use is perhaps most obvious in Erasmus' introductory epistles addressed to the general reader or, in one case, "To all scholars"⁷². On the basis of exclusiveness Greek could also be employed for the purpose of disguise and concealment.

When Greek occurs in emotionally or politically sensitive contexts it functions as a code covering up the issue at hand, making a passage or phrase unintelligible to the casual reader or the interceptor⁷³. The ancient language is then used as a password between allies which keeps the ignorant at bay.

Potentially embarrassing remarks are clothed in cautious Greek, names are disguised: Guillaume Petit whose intentions were not clear to Erasmus is repeatedly called Μικρός (the Greek translation for the literal meaning of the name); Sarfati is referred to in Greek as "the pope's circumcised physician"; an uncomplimentary reference to Pope Julius has his name in Greek transliteration; the names of the bishops of Durham and Winchester appear in their Greek form followed by the warning: "But these are dire secrets."⁷⁴ Erasmus' opponent Lee

⁷⁰ ἀκριτόμυθος 2466:101, ἀναγράφητος 858:2, ὑπουλος 725:8, σῦφαρ 1585:18, κατάρατος 868:32, συκοφαντεῖν 64:14, βάτραχος 1223:18, πτωχός 641:13, σφηκία 2127:19, ψευδολόγος 151:1; cf. Lee's impatient remarks about Erasmus' frequent use of "sycophant", 1061:438f.

⁷¹ 1.9.35, 1875:32, 1624:46, 1342:170, compare 1118:6.

⁷² Epp. 269, 326, 341, 373, 648, 677 etc., Ep. 2773 is addressed "To all scholars".

⁷³ See note 59 above.

⁷⁴ 778:19, 240:36 (identification disputed); compare the transliteration of Luther's name by Vives, 1732:8, and L. Ammonio, 2082:188. The use of Greek as code is

becomes ὁ Λεῖος, the Carmelites οἱ ἀδελφοί, “the brethren”, Latomus ὁ χωλός, the “Lame”, Sutor whose name means “shoemaker” occurs in its Greek translation as σκυτοτόμος, a young know-all is referred to as γεροντοδιδάσκαλος, teacher of old men⁷⁹.

We also find confidential advice in Greek: “Here is a piece of advice, custom-made for you”, Erasmus writes to A. Ammonio, “... but mind you, I whisper it confidentially.” A Greek phrase follows this announcement⁷⁶.

The effort to be obscure is sometimes carried to great length. At one point Horace is quoted in Greek translation! Some matters cannot even be termed “secret” in Latin—they are ἀπόρητα, unspeakable, and μυστικά, for initiates only⁷⁷.

In these cases the choice of Greek is, of course, intentional and deliberate; in others the cover-up may be subconscious or at least spontaneous. Quite often Greek appears to be a mask for ambivalence and embarrassment. Erasmus may affect modesty, be coy or want to avoid the impression of self-centredness. Thus he relates in great detail the disasters which befell him on a journey from Basle to Louvain and does not spare the reader minute details of his disease, then with comic exasperation calls this account his “Iliad of Misfortunes”⁷⁸. Troubles are repeatedly referred to in Greek as “drama” or “tragedy”, as if a lightly tossed Greek phrase could hide Erasmus’ chagrin and concern⁷⁹. The purpose of this artificial merriment expressed in Greek is to gloss over a particular feeling.

The use of Greek for purposes of μείωσις, reduction of impact, is even more obvious in situations where criticism cannot be avoided, yet is not expedient or not appropriate. In his correspondence with friends and patrons, Erasmus often couches his criticism in Greek terms, thus softening the effect. In oral discourse a speaker might pause or preface his remarks with a hesitant “how shall I put it?”—the

accepted practice. Compare Tunstall’s phrase “You know what I mean” in Greek 572:41, or Vives’ “to write this is not without danger”, also in Greek, 1665:27.

⁷⁵ Lee 886:78, 1903:1; the Carmelites 742:13 (compare Vives 1847:129); Latomus 1830:6; Sutor 2016:50; γεροντοδιδάσκαλος refers to Titelmans, a lecturer at Louvain, 2205:228, 2206:2, 117.

⁷⁶ 250:13f.

⁷⁷ 954:9, 447:709, 1528:57, compare Budé 896:119; Erasmus’ *compendium vitae* is entitled “Secret Life” in Greek (1.47).

⁷⁸ 887:2 (compare *tragicocomoedia* used to introduce the account in 867:1). This expression is proverbial — see note 25 above.

⁷⁹ 182:109, 742:22, 447:260, 373:86 etc.

Greek has a similar effect on the text. For instance, Erasmus does not want to sound negative about Budé's efforts to get him an invitation to the French court, but he is undecided and therefore uncomfortable with the situation, saying "out of goodwill toward me you are acting rather energetically and—φιλοτιμότερον [zealously]." In another context Erasmus considers a particular comment harmless nonsense, but he terms it more elegantly—and inoffensively—ἀνεμώλια⁸⁰. It would be discourteous to call a friend a flatterer—the half-serious accusation is clothed in Greek; to term disagreement between apostles a "fight" might be considered sacrilegious, Greek παροξυσμός is safer⁸¹. The use of a Greek word is a show of caution. It makes the writer appear conscientious, circumspect, correct, and in any case a reluctant judge. Of course this demonstration of hesitancy is only a formality. The addressee can be expected to see through the veil of Greek and understand the meaning of the phrase. The use of Greek does not cancel the reproach, it only gives the statement an apologetic tone.

Ambivalence also calls for disguise. Embarrassed about money-matters, Erasmus resorts to Greek; occasionally self-conscious when claiming credit for himself, he expresses himself in Greek⁸². Again, the purpose is to inject an apologetic note, to put a hyphen, as it were, before the offending phrase, to create a distance between speaker and word, as if the author wanted to detach himself from what is being said.

An additional element or different nuance of *pudor* is found in expressions acknowledging favours or gifts as μνημόσυνον, souvenir, or κειμήλια, treasures⁸³. Here the Greek covers not simply a feeling of embarrassment, but also indicates a sense of respect. A similar tendency prevails in affectionate appellations such as φιλτάτη κεφαλή, dear heart, ἐραστής, lover, γνήσιος *amicus*, true friend, παιδίον, dear

⁸⁰ 778:6; 2261:65 (ἀνεμώλια is a proverbial expression, see note 24 above). Compare Budé's λεπτολογήματα, trifles, in 403:123 — however, Erasmus would not accept such criticism either in Latin or Greek. He remonstrated at the time and was still complaining about the expression two years later in 778:191. Compare his deadpan attitude and humourless interpretation of Volz' ἀμφίβιον (referring to frequent rumours of his death: 1525:14ff, 1529:14ff).

⁸¹ 2465:283; 855:60.

⁸² E.g. 1883:14, 483:12, 539:10, 2299:22, 283:39.

⁸³ Μνημόσυνον 996:35, 1734:5, 1915:12; compare Wm. of Cleves, 2234:16, A. Manutio, 262:35 (Rupprich); κειμήλια 872:11, 2127:13; compare Oecolampadius, 563:28.

son :⁸⁴ these are cases where the Greek word is a token of appreciation, a special word for a special feeling toward a friend or benefactor.

The element of respectful deference is also pronounced when Erasmus uses Greek for offices and titles, among them those of archbishop, emperor, chancellor and bishop⁸⁵. It may be objected that the use of Greek in these cases represents an effort to obscure the object of discussion and indeed, there are instances in which the deference shown is tongue-in-cheek⁸⁶, but quite often the context is complimentary or at least neutral and the respect shown genuine. Greek then functions as a sign of polite regard, as if the author had referred to the archbishop as “reverend” or the chancellor as “honorable”.

In the same category are Greek references to Christ as Χριστός ἀγαπητός, beloved Christ; σωτήρ, saviour and ἀπὸ μηχανῆς Χριστός, Christ as *deus ex machina*⁸⁷, phrases that express awe and a pious reluctance to speak the name of God.

In each of these examples Greek represents a form of retreating from the subject. The author employs Greek to put a distance between himself and the content of the expression. Greek is chosen for its quality of exclusiveness. Erasmus employs it as a “spacer”, erecting a barrier against ignorant enemies, offering detached views, keeping a respectful distance or surrounding the object of his admiration with a magic circle of Greek.

Conclusion

Erasmus has set out the basic guidelines for the use of Greek in the *Copia*: his recommendations are reflected in his own practices. He uses Greek judiciously to enhance composition, choosing terms for their vividness, succinct form, precision or witty connotation. He also uses Greek as a means of emphasis to highlight a statement, in a

⁸⁴ 2684:134, 1885:106, 831:11, 1404:12; similarly 531:165, 2644:37, 2652:17, 2813:19; compare L. Ammonio, 2082:19.

⁸⁵ 243:17, 1597:12, 543:10, 245:38; compare βασιλεύς (king) used by Vives 1362:72, ἄριστοκρατεία (empire) used by Casembroot 1594:80, αὐτοκράτωρ (emperor) used by More, 688:13.

⁸⁶ E.g. 872:17 “the rule of the Roman highpriest (ἀρχιερεὺς) is a pest”; also 245:19, 483:1; κηρυκτής (preacher) is frequently used in a negative sense, e.g. 1256:40, 948:104, 1144:23.

⁸⁷ 1333:384, 643:5, 1672:145; compare Melanchthon’s use of Greek for the name of Christ in 910:18,20.

protective manner to conceal his views or to cushion their impact, and as a sign of respect to indicate the special nature of his subject.

Some of the examples cited may seem to fit equally well into several categories and indeed, considerations for the quality of a word and its effect in context are not mutually exclusive. If a sequence can be established at all for such a subtle process as word choice, one might say that the author first decides to express himself in Greek, then decides on a particular word. The terms therefore function on two levels: intuitive and cognitive; they convey the author's mood and relay the content of his message.

It remains to put Erasmus' usage into historical perspective. Cicero, the classical example of epistolary style, and a model most certainly on Erasmus' mind, set a precedence for using Greek as a rhetorical device in correspondence. A comparison between Cicero's and Erasmus' usage reveals, not surprisingly, a close relationship⁸⁸. Common characteristics include the substitution of Greek where a Latin equivalent was not available⁸⁹; the use of Greek in emotional contexts, as cant language⁹⁰, secret code or indication of rapport between the correspondents⁹¹. As for individual expressions, there are a number of coincidences. Some quotations and proverbs cited by Cicero recur in Erasmus' letters, but this is not necessarily an indication of a connection between the two writers because such expressions had long ago become the common property of literati and certainty formed an integral part of Renaissance usage⁹². A more significant coincidence is Erasmus' use of words which made their first or exclusive appearance in Cicero⁹³. Their recurrence in Erasmus' letters would indicate a direct influence. The two authors also share a preference for certain prefixes (ἀ-, συν-) and compositions (ῥμο-, φιλ-) and, more importantly, take a similar linguistic approach

⁸⁸ The following observations are based on the findings of R. B. Steele, "The Greek in Cicero's epistles", *AJPh* 21 (1900) 387-410, Tyrrell's edition of *The Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. 1, 66-68 and H. J. Rose's list of Greek words used by Cicero in his correspondence in *JHS* 41(1921) 93-114.

⁸⁹ Steele 387-8.

⁹⁰ Tyrrell *loc. cit.*

⁹¹ Steele 389-90.

⁹² E.g. "bronze for gold" (Homer, *Il.* 6. 236) is quoted by Cicero in *Ad Att.* 6.1.22 and by Erasmus several times (see note 21 above); the expression "perfume on the lentils" (*Ad.* 1.7.23) in *Fam.* 1.19.2 and Erasmus 373:211, "enough of the oak" (*Ad.* 1.4.2) in *Fam.* 2.19.1 and Erasmus 959:125, "an Iliad of misfortunes" in *Fam.* 8.11.3, used frequently by Erasmus (see note 25 above).

⁹³ E.g. ἀντιμυκτηρίζω 1342:807, ἀπροσδιόνυσος 1126:29, πολυγραφώτατος 2062:21.

to creating new words. Consider, for instance, Cicero's innovative σκιαμαχία, μουσοπάτακτος, τρισαρειοπαγίται, τεχνολογία and ῥωπογραφία (shadowfighting, smitten by the Muses, rigid thrice-over, systematic treatment, writer of pretty subjects) and Erasmus' creations and favourites λογομαχία, φιλόμουσος, τρισάγριος, δοξολογία, κακογραφία (wordfighting, lover of the Muses, fierce thrice-over, irrational treatment, writer of ugly letters)⁹⁴. The similarities in formation, meaning and effect are obvious. Of course, Erasmus' *imitatio* is not a literal one but consists in analogous and parallel construction. The nature and extent of Erasmus' indebtedness to Cicero can be gauged by his own remarks in the *Ciceronianus* in which he rejects verbal and literal imitation and recommends instead emulation through intelligent application of the master's rhetorical principles and their adaption to the writer's personal style, circumstances and subject matter⁹⁵.

It would also be of interest to consider Erasmus' use of Greek in light of contemporary practices, but such an investigation is beyond the scope of this article. Our examination has been restricted more or less to Erasmus' letters, although occasional references are made to his contemporaries in the footnotes and a list of "Greek" correspondents has been appended⁹⁶. Evidence from these sources suggests that Erasmus' letters are representative of contemporary usage, that his practices are neither isolated nor unique, but nevertheless impressive because of the wide range of his expressions, their creative use and effective application. In his skilful manipulation of Greek, Erasmus demonstrates his usual discernment of linguistic possibilities showing himself a master in both languages, Latin and Greek.

List of Correspondents

The list contains the names of correspondents whom Erasmus addressed, or who wrote to Erasmus, using Greek words and expressions.

* denotes letters written to Erasmus and others; the remainder are written by Erasmus. Figures in brackets show year of composition.

A

Adrian VI: 1352(23)

⁹⁴ 1162:16, 2230:21, 1844:56, 1657:13.

⁹⁵ Passim, e.g. LB I 997:B-C, 1002 B-C.

⁹⁶ See below pp. 74-83.

Afinius, H. : 542(17)
 Aggeus, A. : *511(17)
 Agricola, G. : 2529(31), 2918(34)
 Agricola, J. : 2803(33)
 Aichler, St. : *2545(31)
 Alaard of Amsterdam : *485(16), 676(17)
 Alardet, A. & L. : 1892(26)
 Alciati, A. : *1288(22), 1706(26), *2276(30), 2329(30), *2394(30), 2468(31)
 Aleandro, G. : *256(12), 1482(24), *2638(32), *2639(32), *2679(32)
 Aldridge, A. : 1858(27)
 Algoet, L. : 1091(20)
 Amerbach, Bo. : *1020(19), *1084(20), 1293(22), 2151(29), *2219(29), 2231(29), 2236(29),
 *2248(30), 2256(30), *2267(30), 2294(30), *2312(30), *2323(30), *2420(31), *2489(31),
 *2519(31), 2536(31), *2560(31), *2564(31), *2574(31), *2580(31), *2630(32), 2642(32),
 *2649(32), 2652(32), *2653(32), 2678(32), 2684(32), *2688(32), 2694(32), *2706(32),
 2710(32), 2742(32), *2744(32), 2754(33), 2756(33), *2769(33), 2788(33), 2805(33),
 2901(34), *2902(34), 2903(34), *2907(34), 2920(34), *2943(34), 2946(34), *2972(34),
 *2978(34), *3013(35), 3141(36)
 Amerbach, Br. : *420(16), *464(16), *557(17), *595(17)
 Ammonio, A. : 218(11), *220(11), *221(11), 234(11), *236(11), 238(11), 240(11), *243(11),
 245(11), 248(11), *249(11), 250(11), 273(11), *280(13), 282(13), 283(13), 360(15),
 452(16), *453(16), 475(16), *478(16), 48(16), *498(16), 505(16), 539(17), 551(17),
 552(17)
 Ammonius, L. : *1463(24), *1763(26), *2016(28), 2062(28), *2082(29), *2197(29), 2483(31),
 *2817(35)
 Andronicus, T. : 991(19)
 Angleberme, J. d' : 725(17)
 Angleberme, P. d' : 140(1500)
 Anthoniszoon, J. : 173(03)
 Anthonin, J. : 1698(26), *1810(27), 2176(29)
 Assendelft, G. : 2734(32)
 Ayta, B. van (Zuichemus) : 2111(29), *2129(29), 2356(30), 2484(31), 2604(32), *2632(32),
 2682(32), *2716(32), 2736(32), *2791(33), 2810(33), *2854(33), 2878(33), *2891(33),
 *2962(34)

B

Bachuys, G. : *1286(22)
 Baer, L. : 2136(29), 2149(29)
 Baif, L. de : 1962(28)
 Barbier, P. : 608(17), 794(18), 1225(21), 1235(21), 1470(24)
 Barland, A. : 1050(19), 1204(21)
 Barland, H. : *2081(28), 2172(29)
 Bartolini, R. : 549(17)
 Batt, J. : 138(1500), 139(1500), 146(01), 151(01)
 Bavaria, E. of : 704(17)
 Beatus Rhenanus : 327(15), 594:11(17), *Allen vol 1 (36), *IV Allen vol 1 (40), 796(18),
 867(18), 1206(21)

Becker van Borsssele : 952(19)
 Beda, N. : 1581(25), 1596(25)
 Bembo, P. : 2290(30), 2681(32)
 Bensrott, N. : 160(01)
 Berault, N. : *925(19), 1002(19)
 Bergen, Antoon van : 143(1500), 149(01)
 Bergen, A. van (Jr) : 756(18)
 Berquin, L. de : 2077(28)
 Berselius, P. : 756(18)
 Blount, Ch. : 2023(28), 2726(32)
 Blount, Wm. : 105(99), 126(1500), 211(08), 220(11), 2295(30), 2459(31)
 Bogbinder, H. : 1883(27)
 Bombace, P. : *729(17), 800(18), 855(18), *1213(21), 1236(21)
 Boner, J. & St. : 2584(31)
 Bonfiglio, L. : 2347(30)
 Borsssele, A. van : 145(1500)
 Botzheim, J. von : 1331(22), I Allen vol 1 (23), 1934(28), 2206(29), 2516(31)
 Boudet, M. : 1678(26)
 Brassicanus, U. : 1146(20)
 Brie, G. de : *569(17), 620(17), *1045(19), 1597(25), *1733(26), 1736(26), *1817(27),
 1910(27), *2021(28), 2046(28), 2291(30), *2340(30), 2379(30), *2405(31), 2422(31),
 2599(32), *2727(32)
 Brielis, G. : *422(16)
 Brugnard, A. de : *1318(22)
 Bucer, M. : 1901(27), 2615(32)
 Budé, G. : *403(16), 421(16), *435(16), 441(16), 480(16), *493(16), *522(17), 531(17),
 534(17), *568(17), *583(17), *609(17), 689(17), *744(17), 767(18), 778(18), *810(18),
 813(18), *819(18), *896(18), 906(18), *915(19), *924(19), *929(19), 930(19), 954(19),
 *987(19), *992(19), 1004(19), *1011(19), *1015(19), 1066(20), *1073(20), 1133(20),
 1233(21), *1328(22), *1370(22), *1439(24), *1446(24), *1812(27), 1840(27), 2047(28)
 Bullock, H. : 456(16), 777(18), 826(18)
 Burgundy, M. of : 1949(28)
 Burgundy, Ph. of : 758(18)
 Busche, H. von dem : 1126(20)
 Busleyden, G. : 804(18)
 Busleyden, J. : 470(16)

C

Caesarius, J. : 428(16), 771(18), 1528(24)
 Cajetanus (De Vio) : 2690(32)
 Calcagnini, C. : *1587(25), 2869(33)
 Camerarius, J. : *1501(24), 1524(24)
 Camyngha, H. : 2073(28)
 Campeggio, L. : 996(19), 2411(30)
 Capito, W. : *459(16), *600(17), 731(17), *1374(23)

Carlowitz, Ch. von : 2342(30)
 Carondelet, F. : 2002(28)
 Carondelet, J. : 1334(23)
 Casembroot, L. : *1594(25), 1626(25), *1650(25), 1705(26), 1720(26)
 Chapuys, Eu. : 2798(33)
 Chierigato, F. : 1144(20)
 Cigalini, F. : 1680(26)
 Clava, A. : 530(17)
 Claymond, J. : 990(19)
 Clement VII : 1414(24)
 Cles, B. von : 1738(26)
 Cleves, Wm. of : *2234(29), 2431(31), 2458(31), 2711(32)
 Colet, J. : 108(99)
 Colster, A. : 2800(33)
 Cop, G. : 1735(26)
 Cox, L. : *1803(27), 1824(27)
 Cousin, G. : *3068(35), *3080(35), 3095(36), *3123(36)
 Cranevelt, F. van : *1145(20), 1173(20), *1850(27)
 Critius, A. : 1753(26), 1822(27), 2201(29), 3089(36)
 Crocus, C. : *2354(30)
 Croy, W. : 957(19), *958(19), 959(19)
 Cruyce, J. van der : *1932(28)

D

Dalban, A. : 2472(31)
 Damme, B. : 2661(32)
 Dantiscus, J. : 2643(32)
 Decius, J. : 2874(33), 2961(34)
 Deiotarus, Z. : 1491(24)
 Desmarais, J. : 180(04), 197(06)
 Diesbach, N. : 1844(27)
 Dilft, F. van der : 1663(26), 1972(28), 2348(30), *2904(34)
 Dorp, M. : 337(15), 438(16)
 Du Castel, P. : 2213(29), 2388(30), 2427(31), *2719(32), 2720(32)

E

Eck, J. M. von : *769(18), 844(18)
 Edingen, O. van : 2485(31)
 Egli, F. : 405(16)
 Egnazio, P. : *588(17), 1707(26), 2249(30), 2448(31), *2871(33), *2964(34)
 Eichholz, A. : *2071(28)
 Eleutherius (= Franck, S?) : 2441(31)
 Eobanus Hessius, H. : 982(19), 2446(31), 2495(31)

F

Faber, James : 659(17)
 Faber, John : 2750(32)
 Ferdinand, Emperor : 1333(23)
 Fettich, Th. : *2760(33)
 Fisher, Ch. : 182(05)
 Fisher, J. : 936(19)
 Fonseca, A. : 1874(27), 2157(29)
 Franciscans : 2275(30)
 Froben, E. : 1262(22), 2229(29)
 Fugger : 2192(29)

G

Geldenhouwer, G. : 645(17)
 Gerard, C. : 26(89)
 Gerard of Friesland : *2232(28), *2815(33)
 Gerbel, N. : *349(15)
 Gillis, P. : 312(14), 477(16), 687(17), 1696(26), 2260(30)
 Giovio, B. : 1635(25)
 Glareanus, H. : *463(16), 604(17), 766(18)
 Goclenius, C. : 1223(21), 1257(22), 1292(22), *1296(22), 1388(23), 1437(24), *1765(26),
 *1778(27), 1890(27), *1899(27), *2352(30), *2369(30), *2573(31), 2587(31), 2644(32),
 *2851(33), 2876(33), *2998(35), 3052(35), *3061(35), *3111(36), 3130(36)
 Gois, D. de : 2846(33), 3043(35)
 Grey, Th. : 64(97)
 Grimani, D. : 334(15), 710(17)
 Grolier, J. : 831(18)
 Gruyère, L. : 2479(31)
 Grynaeus, S. : 1657(25), *2433(31), 2434(31), 2535(31), 2576(31)

H

Haio, Herman of Friesland : 1479(24), 1978(28), 2261(30)
 Halewijn, J. van : 641(17)
 Harst, K. : 1215(21)
 Hedio, G. : *3020(35)
 Heemstede, J. van : 1900(27), 2771(33)
 Henckel, J. : 1672(26), 2110(29), 2230(29), 2783(33)
 Henricus Caduceator : 1811(27)
 Henry VIII, King : 657(17), 1381(23)
 Heresbach, K. : *3031(35), 3031a(35?)
 Herman, Wm. : 83(98)
 Herwagen, J. : 2518(31)
 Hezius, Th. : *1339(23)
 Hondt, Jan de : *1094(20), 1862(27)

Hoxwier, H. van : 2586(31), *2624
 Hutten, U. von : 951(19), 999(19)
 Huttich, J. : 550(17)

I

no correspondents

J

Janandus, C. : 2141(29)
 Jesperen, J. : *2570(31), *2849(33)
 Jonas, J. : 985(19), 1202(21), 1211(21)

K

Kierher, J. : *355(15)
 Koler, J. : 2195(29), 2406(30), 2415(30), 2617(32), *2814(33), 2906(34), *2947(34), 3032(35)
 Könnerritz, A. & Ch. : 2274(30)
 Kortenhoef, D. : *2265(30)
 Kretz, M. : 2445(31)

L

Lang, J. : 872(18)
 Laski, Abp. : 1855(27)
 Laski, Janos : 1674(26), 1915(27), 2780(33)
 Latimer, Wm. : *520(17), 540(17)
 Latomus, B. : *3029(35), 3048(35)
 Lauwerijns, M. : 717(17), 809(18), 1342(23)
 Lee, E. : 765(18), *1061(20)
 Leo X : 335(15)
 Leoni, A. : 868(18)
 Lethmaet, H. : *1320(22), 1345(23)
 Linacre, Th. : 194(06)
 Lips, M. : 807(18), 843(18), 1189(21), 2045(28)
 Listrius, G. : *495(16), 838(18)
 Longland, J. : 1790(27)
 Lupset, Th. : 1053(19), 1624(25)
 Luther, M. : 1688(26)

M

Maillard, N. : *2424(31), 2466(31)
 Maldonado, J. : 1805(27), 1971(28), 2250(30)
 Manuzio, A. : 207(07), 209(07)
 Marcaeus, H. : 842(18)
 Marck, E. de la : 916(19)

Maria, J. : *1845(27)
 Martinius, J. : 2049(28)
 Melanchthon, Ph. : *454(16), *910(19), 947(19), 1113(20), 1496(24), *1500(24), 1523(24),
 *1981(28), *1982(28), 2343(30), *2357(30), 2358(30), 2363(30), 2365(30), *2732(32),
 *3120(36), 3127(36)
 Merklin, B. : 2284(30)
 Metellus, V. : *3057(35)
 Mexia, Ch. : 2299(30)
 Mexia, Ch. & P. : 2892(33)
 Migli, E. de : 2165(29)
 Moulin de Rochefort, F. : 1719(26)
 Monfoert van Hoeff, P. : *2389(30)
 Montino, F. : *1552(25)
 More, J. : 1402(23), 2432(31)
 More, Th. : 114(99), 222(11), 412(16), 543(17), *601(17), *683(17), *688(17), 726(17),
 776(18), 785(18), *1087(20), *1096(20), 1162(20), 1804(27)
 Morillon, G. : *532(17), 2965(34)
 Morin, J. : 2635(32)
 Mornyeu, P. de : 2473(31)
 Morrhe, G. : *2311(30), *2633(32)
 Mosellanus, P. : *560(17), *911(19), 948(19)
 Mosham, R. von : *1450(24)

N

Nachtgall, O. : *2477(31)
 Nesen, Wm : 462(16), 931(19)
 Neuenahr, H. von : 722(17), 878(18), *1078(20), 1082(20), 1926(28), 2038(28)
 Neve, J. de : 298(14)
 Nicola, F. : 1701(26)

O

Oddone, G. : *3002(35)
 Oecolampadius, J. : *563(17)
 Olahus, N. : *2339(30), 2393(30), *2607(32), 2646(32), *2693(32), 2762(33), *2785(33),
 2792(33), 2813(35), *2848(33), 2860(33), *2915(34), 2922(34)

P

Pace, R. : *619(17), 741(17), 742(17), 821(18), 887(18), *937(19), 962(19), *1089(20),
 1118(20), 1218(21)
 Paumgartner, J. : 2774(33), *3141(37)
 Paumgartner, J. G. : 2683(32), 2695(32), 2809(33)
 Pelargus : *2169(29), 2170(29), *2181(29), *2184(29), 2185(29), *2471(32), *2673(32),
 *2674(32), *2676(32), 2966(34)
 Pellican, C. : 1640(25)

Peutinger, K. : 1156(20)
 Pflug, J. : 2522(31), 2702(32)
 Pins, J. de : 2628(32), 2976(34)
 Pirkheimer, W. : 322(15), 362(15), *409(16), *685(17), 694(17), 856(18), *1095(20),
 1139(20), 1268(22), *1341(23), 1344(23), 1417(24), 1466(24), 1558(25), 1893(27),
 1991(28), 1992(28), 1997(28), 2196(29)
 Pius, A. : 2080(28)
 Pistorius, S. : 1744(26), 2450(31)
 Plateanus, P. : *2216(29)
 Pole, R. : 1675(26), 2526(31)
 Priccardus, L. : 1170(20), 993(19)
 Pucci, L. : 1000(19)

R

Rabelais, F. : *2743(32)
 Reader, The : 269(13), 326(15), 341(15), 373(15), 648(17), 677(17), 1309(22), 1460(24),
 1659(25), 1725(26), 2022(28), 2095(29), 2758(33), 2773(33), 3093(36), 3131(36)
 Reichwein, S. : *2246(30)
 Rem, W. A. : 2419(31)
 Rescius, R. : *546(17), 1882(27)
 Resende, A. de : 2500(31)
 Reuchlin, J. : *290(14), *418(16), 457(16), 471(16), 713(17)
 Riario, R. : 333(15)
 Rinck, J. : 2355(30), 2534(31), 2618(32), *3004(35)
 Roper, M. : 1404(23)
 Rosemond, G. : 1153(20)
 Ruistre, N. le : 177(03), 179(03)
 Ruiz de Virves, A. : 2523(31)
 Rupilius, F. : *2867(33)
 Ruzé, L. : 928(19)

S

Sadoletto, J. : 2059(28), 2272(30), 2315(30), *2385(30), 2443(31), 2611(32), *2973(34)
 Sadoletto, P. : 2864(33)
 Saxony, Frederick of : 586(17), 939(19)
 Scarpinelli, A. : 1478(24)
 Schiner, M. : 1171(20), 1248(21)
 Schrijver, C. : 2114(29), 2916(34)
 Schürer, M. : 311(14)
 Sepulveda, J. Gines de : *2873(33), 2905(34), *2938(34), 2951(34), *3096(34)
 Sinapius, J. : 2956(34)
 Spalatinus, G. : *501(16), 1001(19)
 Stadion, Ch. von : 2029(28), 2359(30), 2362(30), 3036(35)
 Steuco, A. : 2465(31), *2513(31)
 Stiebar, D. : 2079(28), 2745(32), *3133(36)

Stromer, H. : 1326(22), 1522(24), 1564(25)
 Sucket, K. : 2191(29), 2356(30)

T

Talesius, Qu. : 1966(28), 2735(32)
 Tate, Wm. : *1246(21)
 Teyng, J. : *1843(27)
 Theodorici, V. : 1196(21)
 Thuengen, K. von : 2164(29), *2314(30), 2361(30), 2428(31)
 Tomicki, P. : 2035(28), 2091(29), 3049(35), *3066(35)
 Toussain, J. : *1842(27), 2119(29), 2421(31), 2449(31)
 Toussain, P. : 2042(28)
 Transsylvanus, M. : 1585(25)
 Trzecieski, A. : *1895(27)
 Tunstall, C. : *571(17), *572(17), 607(17), 643(17), *663(17), 832(18), 886(18), 1369(23),
 1487(24), *2226(29), 2263(30)
 Turzo, A. : 1572(25)
 Turzo, S. : 1242(21), 1544(25), 2608(32), *2699(32)

U

Ursinus Velius, G. : *851(18), 944(19), *1557(25), *2313(30), 2453(31), *2664(32)
 Urswick, Ch. : 193(06)
 Uutenhove, K. : 2093(29), 2188(29), 2209(29), 2288(30), 2700(32), 2799(33)

V

Valdes, A. : 1986(28)(?), 2018(28), 2126(29), 2252(30), 2528(31)
 Valdes, J. : 2127(29)
 Venatorius, Th. : *2537(31)
 Vergara, F. : 1876(27), 1885(27), 2125(29)
 Vergara, J. : *1277(22), *1814(27), 1875(27), *2004(28), 2133(29), 2253(30), 2879(33)
 Vianden, M. : 1427(24)
 Vincent, A. : 136(1500)
 Virgilio, P. : 1175(20), 1734(26), 1796(27)
 Vives, J. L. : *1108(20), *1222(21), *1256(22), *1281(22), *1306(22), *1362(23), *1455(24),
 *1513(24), 1531(24), *1665(25), *1732(26), *1792(27), 1830(27), *1836(27), *1847(27),
 1889(27), *2061(28), *2932(34)
 Vlatten, J. von : 1390(23), 1948(28), 2088(29)
 Voecht, J. de : 152(01), 157(01)
 Volz, P. : *372(15), 858(18), 1518(24), *1525(24), 1529(24)
 Vroye, J. : 1347(23)
 Vulcanius, P. : 2460(31), 2794(33)

W

Wain, G. : 1903(27)

Warham, Wm. : 188(06), 208(07), 293(14), 396(16), 1228(21), 1451(24), 1453(24), 1465(24)
 Wary, N. : 1756(26), 1856(27)
 Watson, J. : *450(16), 512(17), *576(17)
 Whitford, R. : 89(99), 191(06)
 Wichmans, P. : 1231(21)
 Wimpfeling, J. : 305(14)
 Winmann, N. : 2486(31)
 Witz, J. : 364(15), 1110(20)
 Witzel, G. : 2715(32), *2786(33)
 Wolsey, Th. : 967(19)

X, Y

No correspondents

Z

Zasius, U. : 307(14)
 Ziegler, J. : 1330(22)

The above list illustrates the extent to which Greek was known and used as a stylistic device in Latin composition. It also allows us to make some chronological observations and to speculate on the relationship between Erasmus and the group of correspondents addressed in Greek. However, a caveat is in order here. Any conclusions based on the list must remain tentative for two reasons: the restrictive criterion used to define "Greek words" and the incompleteness of the letter collection. Limiting the survey to words which appear in Greek font serves a practical purpose but is hardly satisfactory from a linguistic point of view. The lack of a representative sample of letters for each correspondent adds to the problem of evaluating the material at hand. The limitations are obvious if we consider, for instance, the small number of letters extant for the period between 1501 and 1511 (cf. CWE, vol. 2, preface xif.) or the meagre evidence for Erasmus' correspondence with individual men who were likely to use Greek: Bombace, many of whose letters are known to us only from Italian excerpts; Clava of whom Erasmus expects "a letter half in Greek" (530:33f.) but whose extant missives contain no Greek. And yet we cannot draw any conclusions from the correspondent's default. In each of these cases the small number of letters, the lack of a representative sample for a particular period or person, make it necessary to suspend judgment.

A chronological survey yields more reliable information. The list shows that Erasmus who took up serious Greek studies during his stay in Paris (1495-1499), put his newly gained knowledge to work almost immediately. Greek words occur in his letters as early as 1489 (Ep 26) and 1496 (Ep 49) respectively, but these first isolated cases must be treated with reservation as the Greek may have been inserted later on (i.e. at the time of publication; cf. Allen, vol. I 592, notes 9 and 10). However, from 1499 on, the use of Greek becomes more frequent and regular and continues to be in evidence through the next decade even though that

period is sparsely documented. Thereafter, in the years for which we have a representative number of letters, Greek occurs in a steady twenty to thirty percent of the correspondence.

The list of correspondents who regularly exchanged Greek phrases with Erasmus includes intimate friends like Thomas More, Andrea Ammonio and Goclenius, admirers like Melanchthon and Bruno Amerbach, fellow-scholars like Budé, Vives, Pace, Tunstall and Zuichemus. Among the men addressed by Erasmus in Greek we find his patrons and supporters: kings and princes, popes and bishops and their executives.

Although the use of Greek was obviously considered a stylistic nicety by a great many scholars of the day, some correspondents made considerably more use of the device than others. In the letters of Budé and Vives the use of Greek is prominent; Beatus Rhenanus, Caesarius and More, though no less qualified, employed this device more sparingly. Measured on this scale, Erasmus' use is moderate, though his practice is affected to some extent by the person addressed. It goes without saying that he refrained from Greek words if the recipient lacked the knowledge to interpret their meaning, but it is interesting to note that Vives and L. Ammonio attracted relatively little response although both were avid users of Greek and obviously appreciative of the device. On the other hand A. Ammonio, Br. Amerbach and G. Budé seemed particularly apt to elicit Greek in answer to their own practices, but Barbier and Warham, too, were plied with letters containing Greek, though they themselves refrained from its use in their letters. These fluctuations in Erasmus' usage suggest that the author's rapport with the addressee, the education of the correspondent and the nature of the business discussed in a particular letter all affected the measure of Greek employed. Since it was a rhetorical device, we can expect, and indeed find, that Greek is rarely used in business letters, a genre which calls for a plain and unadorned style, but occurs more frequently in letters designed to cultivate a lasting friendship between scholars, or dealing with scholarly concerns. It is also prominent in formal letters to patrons. In these we may expect a certain amount of posturing and roleplaying: the writer displays his learning and language skills to demonstrate that he is worthy of the correspondent's friendship, goodwill or patronage. The personal rapport between the correspondents must be taken into consideration. Often in a light vein and always amiable, the exchange between Erasmus and Andrea Ammonio or Bruno Amerbach shows the close ties and intimate friendship between the writers; the lack of response in Erasmus' letters to Vives may also be indicative of his feelings—a signal, as tell-tale as his failure to mention the young scholar in his catalogue of aspirants to Ciceronian style, a lapsus which his contemporaries found surprising if not offensive (cf. 2163:54).

The list of "Greek" correspondents thus reflects Erasmus' rapport with his contemporaries, his affection for friends, his respect for fellow-scholars and his gratitude towards patrons—expressed in Greek, the language of the "friends of the Muses", the parole of all men who took an interest in literature and learning.

University of Toronto

Index of Greek words used by Erasmus in his correspondence

References are to Allen, letter and line numbers.

This list contains only single, occasional words, exclusive of prepositions, articles, and other connectives linking the word to the Latin text. It excludes continuous prose, proper names, titles, and terms discussed as vocabulary.

- A
 ἄβαφος : 2700, 44
 ἀγαθός : 2684, 70
 ἀγαμία : 2684, 19
 ἀγαπετός : 1333, 384
 ἄγγελος : 2201, 79
 ἀγέλαστος : 182, 172; 480, 4
 ἀγονία : 2684, 39
 (τρίς)ἄγριος : 2230, 21
 ἀδάπανος : 2879, 205; 2300, 152
 ἀδελφικός : 2956, 39
 ἀδελφικώδης : 742, 19
 ἀδελφός : 742, 13
 ἀδέσποτος : 550, 10
 ἀδιάφορος : 906, 313
 ἄδωρος : 140, 20; 360, 15; 745, 12; 2617, 1; 3049, 181
 ἀδύνατος : 1616, 4; 2643, 151; 2965, 12
 ἄθεος : 193, 40; 1688, 14; 2329, 7
 αἴνεςις : 179, 42
 αἰνίττομαι : 1698, 15
 αἰσχροκερδής : 2157, 124
 αἰών : 1738, 131
 ἄκαιρος : 139, 117; 250, 5; 991, 38
 ἀκέφαλος : 704, 19; 1206, 59; 1875, 11
 ἀκίνητος : 2018, 39; 2443, 65
 ἀκκίζομαι : 531, 202; 1175, 22
 ἀκκισμός : 1840, 58
 ἀκμάζω : 2465, 371; 2684, 35
 ἀκριτόμυθος : 2466, 101
 ἀκρατής : 108, 71
 ἀκροβολίζομαι : 906, 439
 ἀκρόχολος : 906, 210
 ἀκυρολογία : 1334, 370
 ἀλαζών : 2742, 8
 ἀλάστωρ : 694, 87
 ἀληθής : 452, 2
 ἀλλοπρόσαλλος : 952, 35
 ἀλλόφυλος : 2046, 321
 ἄλωσις : 2448, 75
 ἀμαθής : 531, 102
 ἀμάρτημα : 531, 444
 ἀμαρτωλός : 2771, 111
 ἄμαξα : 282, 36; 550, 4; 990, 37; 1113, 11
 ἄμαχος : 2157, 124
 ἀμνηστία : 1352, 173; 1482, 63; 1796, 12; 2379, 153
 ἀμοιβή : 421, 14; 512, 21
 ἄμουσος : 1.15.7, 222, 2; 293, 17; 447, 375; 1805, 33; 2073, 92; 2432, 3
 ἀμφίβιος : 1518, 44 and 45; 1529, 16 and 18
 ἀμφί : 620, 9
 ἄμωμος : 1171, 53
 ἀναδίπλωσις : 105, 1
 ἀναδύομαι : 1544, 68
 ἀναζωπυρέω : 858, 31; 1248, 31; 1333, 326
 ἀνακύπτω : 412, 28
 ἀνάλογος : 778, 207
 ἀναλφάβητος : 858, 2; 1196, 167; 2448, 98; 2473, 35; 2516, 76; 2774, 59
 ἀνάμνησις : 2379, 153
 ἀναπόδοτος : 1334, 873
 ἀναρχία : 1369, 38
 ἀναχωρέω : 2042, 26
 ἀνεμώλιος : 505, 13; 1347, 314; 1746, 14; 2261, 65; 2516, 58; 2920, 2; 3049, 117; 3052, 17
 ἀνέραςτος : 245, 17
 ἄνθρωπος : 1236, 97
 ἄνοπλος : 543, 18
 ἀντεπιστέλλω : 1002, 8
 ἀντερῶ : 1885, 106
 ἀντίδωρον : 140, 17; 807, 4; 2809, 7
 ἀντικατηγορέω : 480, 25; 3048, 15
 ἀντικατηγορία : 531, 195; 838, 4; 1934, 205
 ἀντίμαχος : 1624, 28
 ἀντιμυκτηρίζω : 1342, 807

- αντίρητορεύω : 2468, 147
 αντίστρέφω : 531, 427; 2379, 415
 ανώνυμος : 326, 50; 341, 29; 373, 221;
 703, 28; 777, 30; 1804, 248; 2126, 131;
 - 2209, 184; 2615, 153
 ἄξενος : 2448, 53; 2792, 27
 ἀξιόπιστος : 456, 9; 1342, 624; 2516, 60
 ἀπαιδευτος : 531, 103
 ἀπάθεια : 2260, 169
 ἀπεραντολόγος : 2049, 20
 ἀπιστέω : 2587, 39
 ἀπλοῦς : 2348, 12
 ἀπνευστί : 1330, 4; 2274, 1; 2315, 17;
 2443, 396
 ἀποθνήσκω : 2874, 26
 ἀπολογητικός : 1451, 11
 ἀπολογέομαι : 531, 431
 ἀπορέω : 283, 129
 ἀπόρρητος : 282, 21
 ἀποστάσιον : 2846, 89
 ἀπότομος : 334, 196
 ἀπραξία : 2901, 4
 ἀπροσδιόνυστος : 1126, 29; 1640, 2
 ἀπροσηγορία : 2428, 16
 ἀριστεύω : 1903, 1
 ἄρρητος : 2077, 18
 ἄρρωστία : 480, 172
 ἄρρωστος : 480, 20
 ἀρχέτυπον : 2466, 252; 2486, 43
 ἀρχιερεύς : 245, 19; 1875, 153
 ἀρχιτύραννος : 2682, 14
 ἄρχω : 1417, 3
 ἀσέβεια : 1885, 180
 ἀσύστατος : 480, 155
 ἀσφαλής : 2250, 29
 ἄτεχνος : 531, 102; 2263, 101; 2736, 6
 ἀτιμία : 778, 39
 ἄτοπος : 1635, 5
 αὐθις (αὐ) : 1173, 132; 1736, 15; 2720, 6
 αὐτογραφία : 2867, 35
 αὐτόγραφος : 1.32.18; 480, 120; 906, 569;
 1753, 2; 1949, 5; 1971, 18; 2062, 38;
 2111, 20; 2369, 47; 2427, 25; 2466, 252;
 2486, 43; 2720, 67; 2864, 19
 αὐτοδίδακτος : 1.55.86
 αὐτοκράτωρ : 543, 17; 954, 8
 αὐτομαθής : 531, 102
 αὐτοσχέδιος : 2710, 67
 ἄφθονος : 993, 20; 2358, 1; 2643, 1
 ἄφιλος : 2448, 54
 ἄφροδίστιος : 1624, 10
 ἄφωνος : 2468, 175
 ἄχειρ(ος) : 483, 15; 3016, 23
 ἀχθοφόρος : 114, 11
- B**
- βαρβαρομάστιξ : 182, 71
 βάρβαρος : 947, 44
 βασιλεύς : 689, 2; 2643, 17; 2846, 61 and
 82
 βασιλικός : 531, 1; 2151, 18; 2645, 21
 βάτραχος : 1223, 18
 βαττολογέω : 1153, 168
 βέβηλος : 480, 263
 βιβλίον : 218, 19; 1189, 4
 βιοθάνατος : 1347, 156
 βλάσφημος : 483, 26
 βουληφόρος : 2750, 64
 βουλμία : 447, 328; 1705, 1
- Γ**
- γαμέω : 1388, 19
 γάμος : 1437, 191
 γάργαρα : 1855, 11; 1971, 9; 2611, 77
 γαστροδούλος : 1875, 132
 γέλως : 2431, 261
 γελωτοποιός : 193, 59; 2172, 2
 γενεθλιακόν : 1.13.1
 γεννάδας : 1066, 25
 γερονταγωγός : 182, 117
 γεροντοδιδάσκαλος : 2205, 228; 2206, 2
 and 117
 γηροβοσκέω : 1910, 19
 γλίσχρος : 447, 303
 γλωττομάστιξ : 967, 140
 γνήσιος : 676, 15; 831, 11; 1342, 588;
 1736, 24; 1858, 446; 2023, 1; 2093, 47;
 2231, 52; 2359, 61; 2379, 197; 2422, 37;
 2432, 29 and 233; 2586, 1; 2608, 26
 γραμματοφόρος : 421, 1; 471, 1; 477, 34;
 713, 21; 731, 2; 813, 1; 1482, 62; 1523,
 198; 1597, 25; 1753, 1; 1832, 71; 2080,
 23; 2165, 3; 2252, 7; 2363, 1

γρῦ : 245, 37; 689, 3; 2484, 3
 γρύζω : 1875, 74
 γύμνοπους : 1903, 16

Δ

δαδουχία : 1597, 16
 δεινός : 2695, 44
 δεινότης : 531, 272
 δεινωσις : 113, 27; 1427, 30; 1688, 10;
 1855, 262; 1934, 90; 2315, 52; 2379, 145;
 3043, 46
 δῆγμα : 480, 204
 διάδοχος : 2202, 58
 δίβαφος : 3049, 135
 διδακτικός : 531, 292; 1596, 19; 1789, 93;
 2002, 37; 2157, 145; 2611, 77
 διδάσκαλος : 108, 70
 δικαίάρχων : 2133, 12
 δικανικός : 1882, 35
 δικαστής : 2133, 10
 δίκη : 2038, 30
 διπλωματοφόρος : 2443, 319
 διχόνοια : 2479, 9
 δοξολογία : 1844, 56; 3131, 17
 δρᾶμα : 742, 22; 796, 17
 δύναμαι : 540, 28
 δυνάστης : 1531, 8
 δυσσαγγελικός : 2422, 83
 δυσβουλία : 1228, 35; 2615, 501
 δυσδαιμονία : 552, 11
 δυσμενής : 282, 20
 δυσπειθής : 809, 66
 δυστυχέω : 531, 79
 δυστυχία : 505, 1
 δυσωπία : 1663, 3 and 29
 δωροδότης : 2157, 9
 δῶρον : 194, 22 and 23; 360, 15

Ε

ἐγγυάω : 1910, 20
 ἐγκωμιάζω : 234, 4
 εἰκός : 2185, 10
 εἰμί : 741, 9
 εἰρήνη : 1738, 3
 εἰρηνοποιός : 1738, 5; 1796, 6; 2379, 353

εἰρωνεύομαι : 531, 141; 906, 310; 916, 383;
 1211, 436
 εἰσαγωγή : 531, 202; 2157, 307
 ἐκατόγχειρ : 2448, 39
 ἐκτοξεύω : 530, 31
 ἐκτραγφδιζω : 373, 86
 ἐλάχιστος : 1487, 16; 1529, 7; 1892, 37
 ἐλεγκτικός : 1451, 11
 ἐλληνίζω : 1066, 2; 1875, 193; 1876, 6;
 2473, 19; 2608, 52; 2646, 17
 ἔμπορος : 1.24.23
 ἔμφασις : 373, 64
 ἐμφατικός : 2465, 488
 ἐνάργεια : 312, 37
 ἐναργής : 2695, 63
 ἐνάρετος : 842, 12
 ἐνέργεια : 858, 134; 985, 112; 2611, 23
 ἐνεργέω : 1672, 129
 ἔνθεος : 2300, 13
 ἐνθουσιασμός : 1133, 23; 1211, 442; 1390,
 93
 ἐνθύμημα : 531, 90
 ἐνοχλέω : 2522, 195
 ἐνυάλιος : 2479, 10; 2587, 32; 2615, 107;
 2702, 5
 ἐξάλειψις : 1840, 88; 2379, 302
 ἔπαινος : 512, 20
 ἐπιγραμμάτιον : 531, 582
 ἐπιδείκτικος : 1789, 95
 ἐπιδόρπισμα : 2711, 35
 ἐπικουρία : 1202, 248
 ἐπιμετρέω : 645, 6
 ἐπινίκιον : 948, 248
 ἐπίσκοπος : 245, 38; 689, 3
 ἐπίτασις : 1875, 34; 2315, 255
 ἐπιφανειακόν : 1.13.1
 ἐπιφήτης : 1756, 76
 ἐπιφωνέω : 843, 612
 ἐπιχώριος : 2534, 12
 ἐπῶδη : 952, 1
 ἐράσμιος : 539, 11; 1262, 6; 1333, 384;
 1476, 5
 ἐραστής : 1885, 106
 ἐργοδιώκτης : 1233, 79; 2518, 19
 ἔρημος : 998, 40; 2445, 99
 ἔρις : 2468, 65

ἐριστικός : 1882, 35
 ἔρω : 2720, 18
 ἐστιάτωρ : 2711, 28
 εὐαγγελικός : 2874, 89
 εὕγε : 856, 42; 906, 459; 1053, 228; 1687, 10; 2443, 61
 εὐγενής : 143, 16
 εὐθανασία : 2449, 91
 εὐθυμία : 906, 438; 2042, 27
 εὐτυχέω : 550, 11; 906, 74
 εὐφυής : 137, 17
 εὐχρηστος : 990, 57
 ἐφήμερος : 1470, 27; 2690, 60
 ἐχεμυθία : 2079, 15

Z

ζηλοτυπία : 250, 14
 ζηλότυπος : 2329, 88
 ζηλωτής : 1967, 178
 ζωαγρέω : 1.22.17
 ζωπυρέω : 2393, 6

H

ἡδύς : 1892, 36
 ἡθικός : 1790, 29
 ἡθος : 2584, 76
 ἡκιστος : 1892, 36
 ἡμερόβιος : 3048, 94; 3049, 172
 ἡμίθεος : 951, 24; 2191, 65
 ἡμίκωφος : 2468, 175
 ἡμιτελής : 3016, 28
 ἡττάομαι : 906, 391
 ἡττα : 1903, 36
 ἡχώ : 1333, 63

Θ

θαρρέω : 1832, 53
 θεολογικός : 456, 10
 θεολόγος : 2170, 7
 θεομαχέω : 269, 124; 283, 31; 758, 14; 777, 23; 2448, 22; 2466, 20
 θεόπνευστος : 2500, 13
 θεότης : 1334, 226
 θερμοζήλος : 2485, 14
 θερμός : 906, 229

θηριομαχέω : 1674, 25; 1675, 33; 1677, 10; 1678, 25
 θῆτα : 1342, 43
 θρασύσπλαγχνος : 1523, 184
 θρασωνισμός : 1342, 264
 θρέμμα : 447, 308; 2260, 316
 θριαμβεύω : 1893, 52

I

ιατρός : 2049, 58
 ἰδίωμα : 373, 64
 ἱερεύς : 245, 24
 ἱεροπρεπής : 906, 410; 1231, 3
 ἵπποτροφέω : 470, 4
 ἵπποτροφεΐα : 1.44.41; 2473, 25
 ἰσόψυχος : 2261, 5

K

καίρος : 139, 75; 2411, 17; 2449, 71
 κακόγλωσσος : 936, 60; 1236, 14
 κακογραφία : 1657, 13; 2290, 81; 2427, 26; 2867, 35
 κακόγραφος : 2213, 25; 2720, 68
 κακοζηλία : 2091, 575
 κακός (κακῶς ἀκούειν) : 947, 11
 καλάμη : 999, 56
 καρδιογνώστης : 2443, 276; 2466, 41; 2615, 48
 κατάρατος : 868, 32; 1118, 6; 1236, 130
 κατάσκοπος : 2236, 25
 καταστροφή : 1597, 13; 1672, 146; 1875, 34; 1885, 172; 2125, 31
 κατόρθωμα : 531, 445
 κειμήλιον : 872, 11; 2127, 13; 2229, 3
 κενοδοξία : 218, 5
 κενός : 1883, 11
 κεραμικός : 1.12.32
 κεραμεύς : 606, 7; 1341, 4
 κερδωφός : 207, 43
 κεχηνός : 64, 75
 κηρυκτής : 948, 104; 1144, 23
 κίβδηλος : 2046, 224; 2379, 360
 κλέπτεις : 2788, 38
 κολακεύω : 283, 132
 κολοφών : 283, 132

κόραξ (ἐς κόρακας) : 64, 68; 1991, 32
κυβεύω : 413, 47

Λ

λάϊνος : 2260, 316
λακωνίζω : 1.21.41; 2295, 2; 2736, 1
λακωνικός : 1.22.27; 421, 3; 470, 12; 483, 22; 534, 5; 1002, 3; 1529, 30; 1680, 5; 1832, 17; 2035, 3; 2522, 3; 2892, 24; 3048, 3
λεοναρδοποιέω : 1626, 27
λεοντή (τήν λεοντήν induimus) : 337, 526; 906, 410; 1889, 13
λεπτολογέω : 480, 123
λεπτολογήμα : 421, 76 and 99; 480, 41 and 123; 778, 191
λεπτολογία : 421, 91 and 118
λέσχη : 2431, 257
λευκός : 248, 22
λεοφόρος : 1659, 61
λήρος : 2260, 145; 3095, 6
λιγύς : 867, 80
λίθος : 1827, 7
λογομάστιγω : 704, 37
λογομαχία : 1162, 16; 1334, 370; 1465, 21; 3036, 70; 3049, 134
λόγος : 1126, 63; 1628, 9; 3095, 5
λοιδοροφάγος : 1707, 1
λοιμός : 2479, 10
λυκιανίζω : 245, 33
λύκος : 483, 24

Μ

μαγαδίζω : 3089, 8
μαίνω : 2209, 181
μακαρία : 2472, 3
μάκαρ : 327, 19
μακρογραφία : 2867, 36
μακροθυμία : 2157, 158
μακρολογισμός : 143, 47
μαλακίζομαι : 2453, 27
μαστιγώω : 480, 21; 844, 99
ματαιολόγος : 1.30.4; 778, 23; 821, 16; 2170, 80
μάταιος : 607, 14
μεγαλοπρέπεια : 531, 272

μεγαλοφροσύνη : 480, 135
μεγαλόφρων : 480, 126
μεγαλόψυχος : 2684, 113
μέθοδος : 3127, 13
μείουρον : 211, 77; 1206, 59
μείωσις : 906, 285
μελέτη : 191, 24; 604, 4
μεσίτης : 2618, 4
μεταμόρφωσις : 452, 4
μετάνοια : 1.26.9
μητρόπολις : 2876, 5
μηχάνημα : 1118, 11
μιμνήσκω : 1331, 62
μινυνθάδιος : 2379, 448; 2681, 12
μισθός : 2901, 3
μισογλώττος : 1856, 33
μισογύνης : 2523, 162
μισόμουσος : 620, 39; 930, 9; 939, 35; 1597, 21
μνημεῖον : 2093, 121
μνημονικός : 2369, 30
μνημόσυνον : 1.33.26; 222, 22; 996, 35; 1558, 15 and 42; 1734, 5; 1915, 12; 2018, 57; 2230, 17; 2356, 45; 2361, 10; 2458, 1; 2493, 104; 2586, 34; 2695, 86
μνησικακέω : 1796, 12
μνησικάκος : 1572, 92
μοῖρα : 245, 28
μονάρχης : 2846, 56
μοναχικός : 1293, 12
μονογλώττος : 531, 11
μονόγραμμα : 1892, 86
μονογράφος : 1892, 86
μονομαχέω : 480, 133; 2874, 25
μονόχειρ : 2415, 1
μουσεῖον : 1.32.11; 193, 21; 364, 44; 832, 37; 855, 46
μουσηγέτης : 2046, 271
μουσικός : 305, 154
μυστικός : 1528, 57
μῶμος : 173, 72
μωρικός : 1804, 257

Ν

ναί (et οὐκ) : 2449, 45
νεανιεύομαι : 83, 119

νεωτερικός: 480, 14
 νόημα: 1855, 274
 νόθος: 2253, 17; 2261, 52; 2291, 10; 2379, 46
 νομοσόφος: 2604, 31
 νοῦς: 1115, 22

Ξ

ξένιον: 161, 5

Ο

ὀδοιπορικόν: 982, 1
 οἰκονομέω: 2735, 49
 οἰκουμενική (Synodos): 1334, 232; 2347, 7; 2355, 24; 2516, 35; 2522, 23
 οἰκουρός: 2260, 21
 οἶνοπότης: 2880, 11
 οἶνοκλέπτης: 3095, 18
 οἶω: 2684, 87
 ὄλεθρος: 694, 90
 ὀλόχρυσος: 531, 55; 1478, 9
 ὁμοίωσις: 312, 19
 ὁμοπάτρις: 928, 44; 1053, 363
 ὁμοτράπεζος: 89, 10; 480, 10; 2073, 88; 2191, 65; 2450, 19; 2946, 6
 ὁμόσηφος: 245, 31; 337, 851; 421, 21; 480, 78; 906, 315; 1680, 37
 ὁμοψύχος: 2684, 105
 ὁμούσιος: 1334, 409
 ὄνειροπόλος: 2095, 23
 ὀνίνημι: 269, 132
 ὀπισθογραφία: 1518, 44
 ὀράω: 1801, 5 and 6
 ὀρθοδόξος: 1858, 62
 ὀρθοτομέω: 1334, 617
 ὀρνητοφαγία: 1139, 90
 (ναί et) οὐκ: 2449, 45

Π

πάγκακος: 1091, 42
 πάγκαλος: 1091, 41
 πάγχρυσος: 480, 282
 πάθος: 110, 25; 180, 128; 2091, 415
 παιδίον: 1404, 12
 παίζω: 2046, 397

παλαιονέος: 2799, 6
 παλαιστής: 2646, 11
 παλινδρομέω: 993, 48
 παλινωδέω: 211, 89; 337, 651; 421, 43; 778, 126 and 300; 826, 11; 1202, 114; 2059, 69
 παμμίαιρος: 2294, 10
 πάμπλουτος: 1876, 17
 πανδοχεῖον: 867, 38
 πανικός: 146, 80
 πανολεθρία: 396, 93; 428, 39; 1126, 20; 1597, 15
 πανοπλία: 858, 609; 957, 71
 πανταχόθεν: 1066, 53
 παραβολή: 312, 27
 παραπρεσβεύω: 1735, 22; 1744, 126
 παράδοξος: 767, 3; 2260, 166; 2615, 236
 παραινεσις: 179, 42
 παραφράττω: 1.20.36
 παραφράσις: 710, 30
 παραφρόνησις: 710, 30
 πάρεδρος: 1738, 135
 παρέκβασις: 180, 156; 208, 23; 480, 255
 πάρεργος: 531, 316; 586, 259; 1978, 10; 2046, 80; 2088, 13; 2422, 73; 3043, 76
 παροιμία: 108, 90; 796, 2; 1222, 8
 παροιμιάζομαι: 305, 3
 παροιμιολογέω: 2773, 54
 παροιμιολογία: 2468, 131
 παροιμιώδης: 143, 35
 παροξυσμός: 855, 60; 2465, 283
 παρῤῥησία: 312, 66; 531, 362; 2599, 60
 πεξεύω: 1832, 3
 πειθαρχέω: 858, 472
 πενία: 3043, 33
 περιπατέω: 2432, 298
 πιστεύω: 1735, 37
 πλανήτης: 2874, 18
 πλάνος: 2874, 19
 πλεονεκτέω: 531, 72; 906, 434; 1053, 363; 1204, 30
 πλήκτης: 2157, 107
 πλούσιος: 2473, 44
 ποιμήν: 1986, 5
 πολλοί: 2684, 69
 πολύγλωττος: 710, 2; 800, 22; 2640 (address), 2465, 44

- πολυγραφία : 1635, 7
 πολυγράφος : 480, 22; 1000, 22; 1173, 88;
 1236, 77; 2062, 21
 πολυμαθής : 800, 23
 πολυμυθία : 2526, 14
 πολυπονία : 1910, 9
 πολυτέλεια : 531, 255
 πολυτεχνία : 530, 9
 πολύτεχνος : 717, 10; 1384, 8
 πολύτροπος : 800, 4
 πολυφιλία : 999, 98
 πρᾶγμα : 180, 128
 πράττω : 483, 4
 πραΰτης : 2157, 159
 προγύμνασμα : 2274, 23
 πρόδρομος : 2045, 88; 2149, 8 and 21;
 2783, 16
 προθεράπευσις : 2315, 184
 πρόμαχος : 2362, 12; 2734, 25
 προοίμιον : 2468, 189
 προσεπιφώνησις : 2172, 8
 πρόσκαιρος : 766, 4
 πρότασις : 2315, 250
 πρόφασις : 2290, 30; 2754, 6
 προφήτης : 1756, 76
 πτωχοτύραννος : 1113, 38; 1144, 21; 1153,
 127; 1215, 8; 1875, 32; 1885, 79; 1903,
 11; 2049, 32; 2256, 7; 2485, 11
 πτωχοτυραννοφιλομουσομαχία : 1082, 13
 πτωχός : 641, 13; 2473, 44
 πυθαγορίζω : 742, 23
 πυκτεύω : 3032, 416

P

- ῥητορεύω : 2046, 397
 ῥητορικός : 2379, 243
 ῥητὸς : 2077, 18

Σ

- σατυρίζω : 1756, 112
 σκανδαλώδης : 2406, 8; 2411, 37
 σκλήρωμα : 2343, 8
 σκότος : 421, 92
 σολοικίζω : 844, 241
 σοφός : 126, 160
 σπάνιος : 2473, 21; 2745, 17

- συγγραμμάτιον : 480, 41
 συγκρητίζω : 620, 38; 930, 9; 947, 20;
 1050, 4; 2119, 4
 σύκινος : 1202, 248
 συκοφαντέω : 64, 14; 531, 193; 800, 18;
 936, 44
 συκοφαντία : 1.22.25
 συκοφαντικός : 2165, 33
 συλλήβδην : 396, 103
 συμμαχία : 2291, 6
 συμμύστης : 2523, 124
 συμπαθέω : 1268, 1; 1804, 281
 συμπαίζω : 480, 89; 2800, 5
 συμφιλοσοφέω : 480, 89
 συναθροισμός : 1934, 440; 2185, 41;
 συναποθνήσκω : 1934, 328; 2136, 59;
 2459, 44; 2726, 39
 συνδικία : 2903, 7
 συνεκδοχή : 2284, 68
 συνελληνίζω : 245, 34
 συνεργός : 1805, 120; 2164, 45; 2966, 10
 συνθεόλογος : 1581, 21
 συνοικέω : 1890, 24
 σύνοικος : 480, 154; 2735, 26; 2846, 59
 σῦφαρ : 1585, 18; 1910, 17; 2720, 44; 2798,
 31; 2800, 11
 σφηκία : 2127, 19
 σχεδιάζω : 2080, 2
 σχετλιάζω : 456, 75
 σχῆμα : 1388, 19; 2449, 84
 σωτήρ : 643, 5; 2176, 36; 2196, 132
 σωφρονέω : 2045, 59
 σωφροσύνη : 948, 51

T

- ταχυγραφία : 480, 23
 τέλειος : 2045, 255
 τέλος : 867, 54
 τερατολόγος : 531, 447
 τετραγλώττος : 2079, 21
 τεχνίτης : 3130, 16
 τὸ (emphatic) : 211, 55; 800, 13; 1437, 111;
 2079, 43
 τραγ(φδ)ικός : 182, 109; 447, 260; 1934,
 18; 2256, 2; 3032, 161
 τριόβολος : 531, 191; 456, 196

τρις ἄγριος : 2230, 21
 τρισάθλιος : 1082, 18
 τρισώματος : 1876, 20
 τυπογράφος : 421, 53
 τύραννος : 2288, 10
 τυγχάνω : 480, 79

Y

ὕγιαίνω : 2956, 4; 3032, 176
 ὕγιής : 1162, 12; 1736, 36; 2379, 359;
 2805, 11
 ὑπερασπιστής : 182, 20; 1334, 584; 2734, 25
 ὑπερβολή : 136, 6 and 18
 ὑπερβολικός : 1225, 329; 1523, 27; 2678, 1;
 2684, 1
 ὑπέρμετρος : 2684, 1
 ὑπόδοχος : 2518, 11
 ὑπόθεσις : 531, 393
 ὑποκορισμός : 2615, 140
 ὑπόνοια : 906, 99; 2141, 5
 ὑποσκώπτω : 1706, 7
 ὑπουλος : 725, 8; 778, 19; 2206, 16

Φ

φερώνυμος : 2774, 49
 φερέοικος : 2473, 6
 φημί : 211, 55; 2710, 3
 φιλαίτιος : 2018, 8
 φιλαυτία : 222, 53; 2191, 27; 2379, 425;
 2522, 114
 φίλαυτος : 283, 39; 531, 126; 1832, 61;
 2434, 32; 2483, 25; 2522, 88
 φιέλλην : 710, 8; 2466, 61; 2608, 53
 φιλέρασμος : 2780, 65; 2874, 85
 φίλιος : 1991, 17
 φιλοβουδαῖος : 2736, 9
 φιλόγελας : 2172, 85
 φιλόγλωττος : 1856, 66; 2695, 30
 φιλόδωρος : 1.42.25
 φιλοθόρυβος : 2635, 16
 φιλοκολακία : 1206, 108
 φιλοκόλαξ : 1066, 34
 φιλογολία : 1885, 181

φιλολοῖδορος : 2421, 41
 φιλόμωρος : 2750, 24; 2780, 24
 φιλόπατρις : 480, 251, 1832, 59; 2750, 23;
 2780, 23; 3032, 26
 φιλοστοργία : 2684, 95
 φιλοστόργος : 2684, 14 and 112; 2750, 164
 φιλοσοφικός : 480, 252
 φιλοτησία : 1992, 154
 φιλότιμος : 778, 5
 φιλόχριστος : 1333, 387
 φλυαρεύς : 1735, 36
 φοβερός : 906, 229
 φυκιάω : 250, 2

X

χαλεπός : 1236, 92
 χαίρω : 710, 8
 χαμαιπετής : 2700, 94
 χρήμα : 483, 12
 χρηματολόγος : 2587, 37
 χρηστολόγος : 1585, 41; 2762, 11; 2906,
 75; 2961, 50
 χρηστότης : 2879, 202
 χριστόφιλος : 1333, 387
 χρονογράφος : 2002, 45
 χρόνος : 180, 128
 χρυσός : 283, 127
 χωλός : 1830, 6

Ψ

ψαλμογράφος : 145, 100
 ψαλμός : 160, 7
 ψευδεπίγραφος : 1453, 11
 ψευδολογία : 2529, 35
 ψευδολόγος : 151, 1; 157, 57
 ψευδομόναχος : 1875, 78; 1926, 8
 ψευδοχριστιανός : 742, 19
 ψωρώδης : 1496, 99 and 157

Ω

ώς : 540, 28
 ὠσγονέω : 1889, 10

Howard B. NORLAND

VIVES' CRITICAL VIEW OF DRAMA

Juan Luis Vives, sometime protégé of Erasmus, tutor of Princess Mary, confidant of Queen Catherine, friend of More, and enemy of Wolsey, has received remarkably little attention from scholars of the English Renaissance. In the context of the ubiquitous reputation of Erasmus and the martyrdom of More the less colorful Spaniard has been overlooked, yet his association with Oxford University and the Court of Henry VIII during the critical period of 1523 to 1528 makes his relationship with the humanist movement in England especially important. Several of Vives' most significant works on education, including his plans of study for girls and boys as well as *De institutione feminae Christianae*, *De officio mariti*, and *Introductio ad sapientiam*, were written during his "English period"; and his major book on educational theory, *De disciplinis*, followed within three years of his departure from London. When the body of his work, spanning a period of more than twenty years, is considered, Vives must be regarded as one of the principal figures in the northern Renaissance, along with Erasmus, More, Budé, and Melanchthon, yet except for Foster Watson's effort to make some of Vives' principal educational works accessible in English in the early years of this century, Vives' writings, most of which are available only in their original Latin or in Lorenzo Riber's Spanish translation (Madrid, 1947), have been largely ignored by scholars writing in English. Scholars of Spanish intellectual history and literature have fortunately been more active in studying Vives; especially notable are the works of Bonilla and Bataillon¹, and most recently Carlos Noreña has written a monograph in English on the thought of Vives². Yet the

¹ Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento*, 3 vols. (1901; repr. Madrid, 1929) and Marcel Bataillon, *Erasme et L'Espagne, Recherches sur L'Histoire Spirituelle du XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, 1937), translated into Spanish by Antonio Alatorre: *Erasmus y España, estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (1950; repr. Mexico, 1966).

² *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague, 1970).

standard edition of Vives' works remains Mayáns' eighteenth century edition, which in 1964 was reprinted in facsimile³.

As a result of Vives' relative neglect, his attitude toward literature in general and drama in particular has received only scattered comment. J. W. H. Atkins in *English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance* discusses Vives' literary theory, but regarding Vives and Erasmus as complementary spokesmen of humanism, Atkins fails to develop important differences between their views of literature and especially of drama⁴. T. W. Baldwin, on the other hand, contrasts Erasmus' and Vives' attitudes toward literature in education, and while championing Erasmus' literary humanism that produced a Shakespeare, Baldwin declares that for Vives "Literature, as such, is merely tolerated, if that.... The old conventional trivium, with its literary objective, does not play any fundamental part in his thinking. The Renaissance, as such, has hardly touched him"⁵. Even more extreme is Noreña's declaration that Vives "despised the world of poetry and fiction" because he considered it "full of evil and lust"⁶. Neither Baldwin nor Noreña examines Vives' view of drama. Both Bonilla and Bataillon comment briefly on Vives' negative criticism of literature and drama in *De disciplinis* and *De ratione dicendi*, though both also note the exception he makes of *Celestina* as well as his qualified approval of allegory in the theater⁷. However, neither of these scholars examines Vives' literary theory in detail, and their observations on his view of drama are brief. It is the purpose of this essay to examine Vives' attitude toward drama and the place it had in the pedagogical programs he proposed.

Vives first indicates his attitude toward drama in 1518 in his *Fabula de homine*, where he creates a fable of the theater to express the nature of man. Drawing upon Pico's conception of man as having both animal and divine parts, Vives represents man as an actor who so impresses the audience of gods that they invite him to become a spectator with them. Vives describes the event this way: "... at hominem simul ac viderunt dii, amplexi fratrem ipsi suum, indignum judicarunt qui in scenam unquam prodiisset, ludicramque exercuisset artem infamem, et suam atque patris

³ *Opera omnia*, ed. Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar, 8 vols. (Valencia, 1782-90; repr. London, 1964). All Latin quotations from Vives' works in the discussion that follows are from this edition.

⁴ 2nd ed. (London, 1951), pp. 35-65.

⁵ *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana, Illinois, 1944), I, 192.

⁶ *Juan Luis Vives*, p. 296.

⁷ Bonilla, II, 129 and Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, II, 216-222.

similitudinem non poterant satis exosculari”⁸. The allegory is clear enough in terms of man being invited to join the heavenly host almost as an equal, but the conventional metaphor of the world as a stage takes on an element of reprobation as the stage is viewed as unworthy of man and the art of the theater as disreputable. Thirteen years later in his *De tradendis disciplinis*, Vives again uses the theater metaphor to register his disapproval of dramatic performance. In explaining why professors in an academy should not teach the same subject at the same hour, Vives writes: “...servitur auditorio tamquam scenae, cui non placet vir melior, sed histrio melior”⁹. In this comparison Vives appears to question audience taste as well as to imply a lack of principle on the part of the playwright and/or actors. No redeeming value in the performance is indicated.

In his commentary on Saint Augustine’s *De civitate Dei* published in 1521 and dedicated to Henry VIII, Vives expresses his view of drama more directly. Generally sympathetic with Augustine’s negative attitude toward the theater, Vives often elaborates on Augustine’s criticism. Following Augustine’s reference to plays as “ludi scenici spectacula turpitudinum, & licentia vanitatum”, Vives adds the note, “Nam foedissima & visu fiebant, & auditu dicebantur”¹⁰. After Augustine’s discussion of the Greeks honoring their actors while the Romans withheld citizenship from theirs, Vives comments, “Necesse erat histriones perditissimis fuisse moribus, & deploratae nequitiae, quum in ea civitate pro civibus non haberentur, cuius erant tam multa millia hominum flagitiosorum & facinorosorum cives” (II. xiii, p. 47). When Vives gives an account of the development of drama in the classical world, he provides a rather conventional summary drawn largely from Donatus and Diomedes, fourth-century grammarians whose comments were traditionally published in Renaissance editions of Terence; however, in describing the kinds of drama that existed in ancient times, Vives emphasizes their immorality:

Tragoedia magna infortunia continet, ardentis affectus, atrocia scelera, minimum turpitudinis; comoedia amores, nequitias, flagitia tractat, ...satyra lasci-

⁸ *Opera*, IV, 7.

⁹ *Opera*, VI, 277. All further reference to this work appear in the text.

¹⁰ *Aurelij Augustini opus absolutissimum de civitate deo... emendatum... per... Ioan. Lodovicum Vivem Valentinum, & per eundem... commentariis illustratum...* (Basileae, 1522), I. xxxii, p. 30. All further references to this work appear in the text.

viores habet faunos & sylvanos, qui iocis & salibus agrestibus delectabant; interim admistis lachrymis, sed ut erant dii immundi & illoti, spurciora iactabant & foediora dictu audituque. In mimis licentia maxima, nullis parcebant turpibus (II, viii, p. 43).

Given this perspective, we might expect Vives to moralize at length on Augustine's example of art provoking immorality in Terence's *Eunuch* where the lustful Chaerea, gazing upon a picture of Jove sending a shower of gold into the lap of Danae, declares he will follow Jove's example in satisfying his desire. Instead Vives explains the context of the action in Terence's play and provides a more detailed account of the myth of Danae; then he merely adds that there is no lock strong enough to keep out corruption bought with golden gifts (II. vii, pp. 40-41). Yet this image of art stimulating or justifying immoral actions, especially among youth, later became a central concern in Vives' attitude toward literature in general and drama in particular. In the first part of *De disciplinis* entitled *De causis corruptarum artium* (1531), Vives returns specifically to this incident in Terence's *Eunuch*, and interprets it as an example of drama inciting youth to pursue vice¹¹.

However, Vives in 1521, when he published his commentaries on *De civitate Dei*, was not prepared to ban all imaginative literature because it could provoke immorality. When Augustine speaks of Plato expelling the poet from his republic, Vives carefully qualifies Plato's words. Vives explains that Plato excludes from his ideal state only poets who represent wickedness of the gods and who evoke unmanly affections. Plato is said not only to allow poetry that is manly and honest but also to point out the poet's positive guidance and his inducement to moral action (II. xiv, p. 49). Vives here seems to be expressing his own perception of poetry as a powerful force for good though it can also be used for wrongful purposes. Like Plato, Vives believes one must choose literary works with the aim of promoting virtue.

Vives illustrates this aim in the readings he recommends in *De ratione studii puerilis* (1523) for the education of the seven-year-old Mary Tudor. Seneca is the only dramatist listed among the approved authors, though Cicero, Plutarch, Plato, Horace, and Lucan are perceived to be among those who "non modo bene scire doceant, sed bene vivere"¹². Vives does not include the standard school text of Terence, but promotes instead

¹¹ *Opera*, VI, 94-95.

¹² *Opera*, I, 269.

Christian poets, as well as Jerome, Augustine, Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, and More's *Utopia*. In his parallel plan of study for boys, written in the same year and addressed to Charles, the young son of Lord Mountjoy, Vives does include Terence, but Vives apparently feels the need to justify his choice. He says: "Ad quotidianum sermonem multum confert Terentius, quo multum Cicero utebatur, et cujus fabulas, propter leporem et festivitatem orationis, scriptas a nobilissimo Romano fuisse multi crediderunt"¹³. Earlier in his commentary on *De civitate Dei* Vives notes that Terence knew Scipio and Laelius and, apparently following Quintilian, Vives says that many people suspect they aided him in writing his plays (II. xii, p. 47)¹⁴. Vives points to the prologue of *Adelphi* as evidence. However, in his plan of studies for boys, his invocation of Cicero, the master of rhetoric and moral philosophy, and his identification of Terentian style with aristocratic demeanor appear to give Terence an aura of respectability. Vives goes on to recommend Latin historians, agricultural writers, and poets, but he ignores Plautus and merely alludes to Seneca as the only Latin tragedian to survive. Lucan is singled out for special praise, and again his standard list of Christian poets—Prudentius, Prosper, Paulinus, Sedulius, Juvencus, and Arator—is suggested. For the study of Greek, Vives advises that the orators and philosophers be read first and then Aristophanes (because he's easy to translate) and Homer; after that Euripides and Sophocles might be read.

The reasons for Vives' negative view of drama become more evident as his career proceeds. He declares his moral orientation most explicitly in his *Introductio ad sapientiam* in 1524: "Reliqua eruditio munda est, et frugifera, referatur modo ad suum scopum, virtutem, hoc est, recte agere"¹⁵. As Sister Marian Tobriner points out, Vives conceives of virtue in the sense of *pietas* "wherein personal godliness and social righteousness become synonymous"¹⁶. The promotion of virtue is, of course, a humanist creed throughout the Renaissance; both Erasmus and More would heartily agree that education should lead students to the practice of virtue, but neither perceived virtue in so narrow or so emphatic a sense as Vives. Later in *De tradendis disciplinis* (1531) Vives clarifies the significance of piety in life and, by implication, in education: "sola utique *pietas* via est perficiendi hominis; quare haec una est rerum

¹³ *Opera*, I, 274.

¹⁴ See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, X. i, 99.

¹⁵ *Opera*, I, 12.

¹⁶ *Vives' Introduction to Wisdom* (New York, 1968), p. 66.

omnium necessaria" (VI, 248). His paramount concern for piety leads Vives to reject any works that do not obviously reinforce the practice. In his *Introductio ad sapientiam* he sets down the principle: "Non attingendi autores spurci, ne quid sordium animo ex contagio adhaereat"¹⁷. The fear that the depiction of wantonness will lead readers to practice it is expressed in his warnings that women not be allowed to read bawdry, particularly the works of Ovid, and they should also be dissuaded from chivalric romances because of their deleterious effect on personal values¹⁸. Believing that the minds of men and particularly women are very susceptible to any outside influence, he considered the written word to have the power of promoting good or evil. In his *De officio mariti* (1528), he explains:

Sunt litterae, quae ad expoliendum locupletandumque sermonem spectant; sunt aliae, quae ad voluptates sensuum, aut astum ac vafriem; aliae, quae ad cognitionem naturae; aliae, quae ad animos componendos. Voluptates titillant pleraque Poëtarum opera, et Milesiae fabulae, ut Asinus Apuleji et fere Luciani omnia, quales crebrae sunt in linguis vernaculis scriptae Tristani, Lanciloti, Ogerii, Amadisii, Arturi, et his similes; qui libri omnes ab otiosis hominibus et chartarum abundantibus per ignorantiam meliorum sunt conscripti. Hi non feminis modo, verumetiam viris officiunt, quemadmodum ea omnia, quibus nutus iste noster ad pejora detruditur, ut quibus armatur astutia, accenditur habendi sitis, inflammatur ira, aut cujuscunque rei turpis atque illicita cupiditas¹⁹.

This image of the effects of literature emphasizes the evil rather than the good, and since this is directed at men of marriageable age, not the seven to fifteen-year-olds in the schools, it does little credit to the intelligence or judgment of adult society. It was this corrupting effect of literature that the Stephen Gossons and Philip Stubbes seized upon fifty years later in their crusade to ban poetry.

Vives' counsel to husbands and his advice on the teaching of girls and boys express his view of the role of literature in the education process,

¹⁷ *Opera*, I, 12. T. W. Baldwin notes that Vives' *Ad sapientiam* was required at Eton, Westminster, and elsewhere as a "fit companion to Cato" (*Shakspeare's Small Latine*, I, 688).

¹⁸ See *De institutione feminae Christianae*, I. v. Richard Hyrde in his English translation (London, 1540) supplements Vives' list of romances to be avoided by adding a group from England (Sig. E). Bataillon contrasts Vives' moralistic view with the more tolerant view of Juan de Valdés toward the romance as a literary form (*Erasmus y España*, II, 219-222).

¹⁹ *Opera*, IV, 363. This work was translated by Thomas Paynell and published as *The office & duetie of an husband* (London, 1550).

and this view leaves little room for drama. In his *De disciplinis* in 1531, he develops his pedagogical theory and elaborates his critical views of literature as he reveals more clearly his negative attitude toward drama. He establishes his perspective in the preface. Though recognizing the authority of the ancients, he declares that their heathen errors must not be allowed to contaminate our religion or to stifle our search for knowledge. He states: "...porro de scriptis magnorum auctorum existimare multo est litteris conducibilius, quam auctoritate sola acquiescere" (VI, 6). Quoting Seneca's words, "Qui ante nos ista moverunt, non domini nostri, sed duces sunt", Vives stresses: "patet omnibus veritas, nondum est occupata; multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est" (VI, 7). This view of ancient authors as leaders rather than masters provides the key to Vives' treatment of the Greek and Roman classics throughout his work. He is critical in his judgment and selective in his use of his classical heritage, and he is not timid in rejecting or adapting their words ²⁰.

Vives first addresses the causes of corruption in the arts, and in poetry he finds accounts of "bella, parricidia, adulteria, expulsionones parentum, fraudes, impietates" ²¹. It is in this context that he cites Chaerea's justification of lust in Terence's *Eunuch* that Augustine had earlier decried. He also alludes to Plato's expulsion of the poet from the state as a bad influence on the citizens. Vives declares Homer's hero, Achilles, to be a brutal savage, and Ulysses, though purported to be a model of prudence, to be in fact "fraudentior, aut mendacior" ²². When he turns to drama, his animus toward the theater that he had revealed in his commentary on *De civitate Dei* becomes more emphatic. Plays are said to consist of the intrigues of love, the wiles of prostitutes, the perjuries of bawds, and the roughness and vainglory of soldiers; these representations are viewed as especially harmful for boys, girls, and wives. Love and vice, Vives says, always triumph in comedy, and the result is to encourage immorality ²³. He does, however, exclude the tragicomedy of *Celestina* from this indictment because the illicit love is punished by death ²⁴. Vives goes on to consider the language and decorum of Plautus

²⁰ Ben Jonson translated this passage and included it in his commonplace book, *Timber, or Discoveries*. See *Ben Jonson*, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1925-52), VIII, 567.

²¹ *Opera*, VI, 94.

²² *Opera*, VI, 96.

²³ *Opera*, VI, 99.

²⁴ Pearl Hogrefe raises the question of Vives' authorship of *Calisto and Melibea*, the Tudor interlude based on *Celestina*, and after rejecting that possibility, suggests that the

and Terence, but the tone of moral disapproval continues to the end of the discussion.

After considering the causes of the corruption of the arts in seven books, Vives becomes more constructive when he turns to the transmission of knowledge through education. As in his earlier pedagogical works, Vives emphasizes moral philosophy, history, and rhetoric. His continuing first priority of piety or the practice of virtue accounts for his high regard for moral philosophy, but he now articulates as a complementary purpose of education practical usefulness, which explains his placement of history and rhetoric in the first rank of academic subjects. Literature is perceived as serving the purposes primarily of moral philosophy and rhetoric and to a lesser extent history. Cicero, Quintilian, and Plutarch are Vives' guides in expressing both educational goals and methods.

Plutarch provides the rationale for the study of literature as well as a precedent for the advice Vives had earlier expounded in his plans of study for both girls and boys. Altering Plutarch's metaphor of the bee finding honey "amid the most pungent flowers and the roughest thorns"²⁵, Vives compares heathen literature to a great field in which "herbae proveniant partim utiles, partim noxiae, partim ad delicias paratae, vel ornamenta, ut flosculi quidam" (VI, 269). Worthy sentiments, warnings against vice, and praise of virtue, as well as models of eloquence, can be found in pagan works, though the writings must be chosen carefully. Not only should some authors such as Martial and Catullus be avoided because of their scurrilous subject matter, but also the more noble works can be made more beneficial by adaptation into a form consistent with the Christian faith. An example which Vives cites is St. Ambrose's pious adaptation of Cicero's *De officiis*. Anything that runs counter to Christian teachings should be eliminated even if it means sacrificing the most prestigious works of the past. As Vives puts it, "... itaque nemini bono viro arbitror in dubium venturum, quin praestet vel a *Christianis* accipi doctrinam *Christianam christiane* traditam, vel ex *monimentis* impiorum, *resectis* iis quae integritati *bonorum morum*

highly moralized adaptation was connected with Vives' visits to England in the 1520's. See *The Sir Thomas More Circle: A Program of Ideas and Their Impact on Secular Drama* (Urbana, Illinois, 1959), pp. 344-345.

²⁵ "How The Young Man Should Study Poetry", *Moralia*, I (London, Loeb Classical Library, 1927), 170-171.

possent officere" (VI, 271). Christian piety is the determining factor in selecting educational texts, not aesthetic judgment.

Vives recognizes the delight and usefulness of non-Christian literature, but he believes it is the responsibility of teachers and educational leaders to excise obscene or offending passages. He declares that he who will carry out this expurgation "ac posteris praeclare merebitur, sed de poetica arte, ac poëtis ipsis" (VI, 323). It is in this context that he considers Latin comedy. He first mentions Caesar's approval of Terence as a lover of a pure style and then disparages Plautus for an antiquarian style and for allowing his slave-characters too much license. Vives concludes: "*ex utroque cuperem resecta quae pueriles animos iis vitiis possent polluere ad quae naturae quasi nutu quodam vergimus*" (VI, 328). In *Th' overthrow of Stage-Playes* (1599), after citing Augustine's illustration of Chaerea justifying his lust by Jove's precedent in Terence's *Eunuch*, John Rainolds points to Vives' advice on expurgating Terence and perceives Plutarch as Vives' source. Rainolds declares:

... sundry men of note in our memorie also, not onely among professors of purer religion, but even among the Papists, haue advised Scholemasters & instructors of youth either not to read *Terence* to their Scholers, or if they will read him, not to read him all. *Ludovicus Vives*, having declared in generall out of *Plutarch* touching the reading of *Poëts*, that, vnlesse you vse it most warily, it hurteth; and therefore, if a *childe* may be allowed to meddle with it, *their writings would be purged first, & filthy matters be wholly cut out of them*: Doth wish the same concerning *Terence* in speciall for those thinges which might defile the mindes of children with such faultes and vices, as naturally wee are prone to²⁶.

In contrast to Erasmus and other contemporary humanists who recommend Roman comedy in general and Terence in particular for instruction in colloquial Latin, Vives warns against using both Terence and Plautus not only because of their questionable morality but also because they represent the language of dramatic characters with little education and low social position who do not use correct Latin (VI, 329). Vives appears to qualify his earlier recommendation of Terence "for daily conversation" in his plan of study for boys. Vives also dismisses Terence's most honored interpreter, the fourth-century grammarian Donatus, as often misguided in his explanations (VI, 343-344), though earlier Vives had recommended Donatus as an aid to understanding

²⁶ (London, 1599), p. 123.

Terence²⁷. The pedagogical tradition of making Terence one of the major Latin texts in the schools, which spawned the numerous Renaissance commentaries that elaborated upon Donatus, gives way to pious and practical moral training.

Vives contends that poetry should be taken up only during leisure time: "non ut alimentum, sed ut condimentum" (VI, 330). With this view he naturally finds Roman comedy unworthy of serious study. His emphasis on historians and orators as well as moral philosophers elevates Sallust, Tacitus, and Lucan to the company of Cicero and Plutarch and determines his preferences in poetry for Virgil, Horace, and Seneca. When Vives alludes to Senecan drama, he refers to the moral instruction to be gained. Vives declares: "adhortari ad mores probos bonus *Cicero*, dehortari ab improbis *Seneca*; habet *idem* sententias concinnas, argutas, breves, quas jaculatur tamquam spicula amentata" (VI, 364). The negative *exempla* and *sententiae* are what Vives notices as he ignores the sensationalism and emphasis on fate so apparent to a modern reader of Seneca.

In developing his theory of imitation, Vives identifies the models for tragedy as Seneca and Euripides (VI, 364). Vives recognizes that Sophocles has been highly regarded in the past, but like most of his contemporaries, Vives prefers Euripides. The basis for his preference Vives finds in Quintilian who places Euripides on a par with the greatest philosophers because of the "gravitate sententiarum" in his plays (VI, 334). Again moral rather than aesthetic reasons determine Vives' judgment. It is no wonder that Vives found "non multum... bonae frugis" in Aristotle's *Poetics*, which Vives describes as "tota in observatione antiquorum poëmatum occupata, et in iis subtilitatibus, in quibus molestissimi sunt Graeci, quodque cum bona illorum venia dixerim, *inepti* quoque" (VI, 342). The aesthetic considerations of drama in the *Poetics*, which were made accessible by the Latin translation of 1498, held little interest for Vives probably because of his negative attitude toward drama as well as his preoccupation with the moral²⁸. Later in *De ratione dicendi* (1532), Vives refers to Aristotle's theory of imitation expressed in the *Poetics* to explain the appeal of drama to man

²⁷ Note his earlier commendation of Donatus in his letter to Mountjoy outlining his plan of studies for boys (*Opera*, I, 277).

²⁸ J. W. H. Atkins in *English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance* finds it surprising that Vives "takes no cognizance of the new Aristotelian ideas" (p. 50), but Vives' disinterest is in fact quite consistent with his critical attitude toward drama.

who delights in imitation because he is by nature imitative, but rather than considering the aesthetic implications, Vives again stresses the moral dangers of drama ²⁹.

Vives identifies Terence and Aristophanes as the models for comedy (VI, 364), but he does not develop this thought. He seems merely to be registering contemporary opinion. We have already noticed his rather guarded comments on Terence in other contexts, and his allusions to Aristophanes are always perfunctory. He describes Aristophanes as "festivus" on one occasion (VI, 334), but he demonstrates little familiarity with his plays. His earlier recommendation that Aristophanes be read because he is easy ³⁰, is a bit surprising given Vives' squeamishness about scurrility in Martial and Plautus. Perhaps Vives is depending on a very limited or second-hand knowledge of Aristophanes. Vives' interest in Greek drama was clearly subordinate to his interest in Greek orators and historians or to Homer, whom Vives discusses at length in terms of the good and bad elements in his works. Vives' perfunctory treatment of Greek drama in his proposed curriculum is further indicated by his suggestion at the end of his extended discussion of Homer that the reader may wish to read what remains of Aristophanes and Euripides, and then turn to Hesiod and a few Greek epigrams which are witty though not immoral (VI, 335). This is hardly an endorsement for his models of comedy and tragedy.

Vives' negative attitude toward drama is further expressed in his advice on the teaching of *elocutio*, or oral delivery. Recognizing the value of declamation in his *De causis corruptarum artium*, he urges voice training and believes that students should learn gesture as a basic part of oratory, but, as Foster Watson points out, Vives does not advocate acting in stage plays as Francis Bacon later does ³¹. It became in the sixteenth century in England and on the continent a growing practice in the schools for students to perform plays in Latin and even occasionally in Greek as part of their training in rhetoric ³², and in some instances Erasmus' *Colloquies* were acted out ³³; however, Vives recommends restraint in oral readings in class. His animus toward the theater is

²⁹ *Opera*, II, 220.

³⁰ See above, p. 97.

³¹ *Opera*, VI, 171-180. See *Vives: On Education* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. cix-cx.

³² See F. P. Wilson, *The English Drama 1485-1585* (Oxford, 1969), p. 103, and F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 15-16.

³³ See *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1906-1958), VII, 508, 4n.

reflected in his choice of words. He says that the Latin should be “distincta pronuntiatione, et gestu intelligentiam adjuvante, dummodo ne ad histrionicum deveniat”³⁴.

Underlying this distrust of the dramatic is Vives’ fear of corruption of one’s morals through the imagination, which is indicated many times in his pedagogical works, but which is expressed perhaps most clearly in *De tradendis disciplinis*. He says that poems

... habent ingentium virium argumenta; habent affectuum admirabilem expositionem, quae *energia* dicitur; afflant magno quodam et excelso spiritu, sicut et afflantur ipsi, ut vel supra ingenii ac naturae suae captum videantur assurgere. Sed his tantis et tam suspiciendis virtutibus admista sunt vitia non parum exitialia, partim picta atque expressa, partim etiam commendata; quae sunt huius generis, vehementer possunt nocere, si quis habeat fidem dicenti, et nescio quo pacto impetrant fidem suavitatem versus in pectora audientium blande illapsi (VI, 321).

It is after expressing this power of poetry on the minds of readers that Vives again notes Plato’s banishment of Homer from his ideal republic, and this leads Vives to Plutarch’s advice that boys be reminded “*poesin esse picturam*”, not real life (VI, 322). Vives’ concern is that readers will become so caught up in the fiction that they will no longer distinguish between fantasy and fact, between the imitation of life and reality. Because drama imitates life even more realistically than poetry, it is even more dangerous in its power to corrupt. A year later in *De ratione dicendi*, Vives returns to the subject of drama, and he explains more specifically the potential of drama to corrupt. He declares that actions expressing both good and evil are indiscriminately mixed in the theater and an audience cannot sort out the beneficial from the harmful. He quotes Horace’s famous dictum, “*Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci*”, but he does not trust the spectators to make the proper moral judgment. Vives approves of the more recent allegorical drama that through the portrayal of virtues and vices admonishes the audience to moral action, provided these plays are not so obscure as to be misunderstood by the common people³⁵. However, because man’s vulnerability to corruption is magnified by the dramatic illusion, the potential for evil, in Vives’ view, may outweigh the benefits to be gained.

³⁴ *De disciplinis, Opera*, VI, 307.

³⁵ *Opera*, II, 220-221.

Vives made no significant statements about drama after 1532, but in 1538 he published what became his most popular work, *Linguae latinae exercitatio*, a series of dialogues dealing primarily with schoolboys' manners and activities. Unlike Erasmus' *Colloquia* which included learned topical discussions and diverting tales that appealed at least as much to an adult audience as the students to whom they were directed, Vives' dialogues are oriented toward the interests of the seven to fourteen-year-olds who would be using them as classroom exercises. Though heavily weighted with moral instruction, in keeping with Vives' educational priorities, some of the exchanges are quite witty and occasionally humorous. The dialogue entitled "Garrientes" represents the chatter of schoolboys that ranges over many subjects; the tone is light and the conversation lively. The dramatic interplay is at least as effective as a number of contemporary interludes. Foster Watson who translated the *Exercitatio* into English in 1908, wrote ten years later in Catalan, "I encara que Vives no s'ocupà directament del drama, els seus diàlegs en l'*Exercitatio* ofereixen detalls que demonstren un coneixement dels caràcters personals i l'aptitud d'adaptar els discursos a les diverses personalitats"³⁶. Vives does indeed demonstrate a talent for drama, and perhaps it was the dramatic qualities that made his dialogues popular in the schools of the sixteenth century and later. After Erasmus' colloquies were judged to be dangerous, Vives' *Exercitatio* replaced them in Spain³⁷, but the popularity of Vives' dialogues went far beyond his native land. Juan Estelrich notes that the *Exercitatio* went through more than 200 editions before 1941³⁸. Ironically the most widely diffused of Vives' works is the one that approaches the mode of drama. In the *Exercitatio* Vives develops the imitation of life that he recognized would delight an audience, but he laced his imitation with moral precepts to direct young minds to pursue virtue.

How much influence Vives had on the education of young minds in England and on the continent has been variously assessed; Estelrich counts nearly 500 editions and translations of Vives' works and regards his influence to be very significant in Europe and elsewhere³⁹. Jacques

³⁶ *Les relacions de Joan Lluís Vives amb els Anglesos i amb L'Anglaterra* (Barcelona, 1918), p. 220. See also Watson's *Tudor School-Boy Life, The Dialogues of Juan Luis Vives* (London, 1908), pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

³⁷ Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, II, 250-251.

³⁸ *Vivès. Exposition organisée à la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1941), p. 90.

³⁹ *Vivès. Exposition*, pp. 119-190.

Parmentier begins his study of English education with Vives and considers his effect on the educational theory of Thomas Elyot, Roger Ascham, and Richard Mulcaster, as well as on the thinking of Milton and Locke⁴⁰; and Foster Watson discusses Vives' influence on the intellectuals of the early Tudor period, including Sir Richard Morison, John Skelton, John Palsgrave, John Leland, John Ritwise, and Nicholas Udall⁴¹. However, T. W. Baldwin calls Vives' ideas about education "cloistered" and declares that "Grammar school masters faced a situation so different that Vives... could... have had but little if any influence upon them... Erasmus and men of his mind had already determined the fundamental curriculum and the pedagogical processes and attitudes of the grammar schools"⁴². In contrast, Pearl Hogrefe believes that Vives had "a large influence on studies at Oxford" and that his friends, including Linacre, Tunstal, Fisher, Latimer, Mountjoy, and More diffused his ideas. Ms. Hogrefe also points out that Hyrde's English translation of *De institutione feminae Christianae* went through eight editions and Morison's English translation of *Introductio ad sapientiam* five printings in the sixteenth century⁴³. Noreña claims that along with Erasmus, Ramus, and Melanchthon, Vives was "the most read Humanist of northern Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century"⁴⁴.

Vives' effect on the development of drama in the English Renaissance is even more difficult to assess. On the one hand, his concern with the power of drama to promote immoral actions provided arguments for Rainolds and his fellow moralists who sought to close the theaters. Vives' thoughtful wariness was probably more anticipatory than formative, but he clearly alerted the pious to the dangers of the imagination when given "a local habitation and a name". On the other hand, his healthy attitude toward the classics as leaders rather than masters, as models to be adapted rather than slavishly imitated, may have influenced his student at Oxford, Nicholas Udall, to transform the structure and motifs of Roman comedy into a native context. How many other budding playwrights may have encountered Vives' view of the classics we shall never know, though even Shakespeare began his career by altering

⁴⁰ *Histoire de l'éducation en Angleterre* (Paris, 1896), pp. 9-23.

⁴¹ *Les relations*, pp. 193-206, 218-221.

⁴² *Shakspeare's Small Latine*, I, 199.

⁴³ *More Circle*, p. 238.

⁴⁴ *Juan Luis Vives*, p. 1.

Plautian and Senecan models. Perhaps Ben Jonson best shows the dramatic legacy of Vives. We do not know when Jonson discovered Vives, but in his commonplace book entitled *Timber, or Discoveries*, published after his death, he left translated portions of *De disciplinis*, including the part of Vives' preface that sums up his view of the ancients⁴⁵. It is, however, in his dramatic practice that Jonson illustrates "the proper use of the classics", as expressed by Vives⁴⁶. Drawing upon classical themes as well as classical sources, Jonson seeks to "translate" ancient models of tragedy and comedy into the contemporary idiom. He was not always successful, but it is Vives' principle of classical adaptation that informs Jonson's best work. As John Donne says in a Latin verse on Jonson's comic masterpiece, *Volpone*, Jonson is following and yet rivalling ("sequi aemularierque") the ancients as he makes new art out of the old⁴⁷. Though Ben may not be a "son" of Vives, Jonson highlights Vives' dramatic connection that has been too long overlooked.

Dept. of English University of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska 68588.

⁴⁵ See n. 20 above. For a discussion of Jonson's borrowings from Vives, see Percy Simpson, "'Tanquam Explorator': Jonson's Method in the 'Discoveries'", *Modern Language Review*, II (1907), 208-210.

⁴⁶ See H. A. Mason, *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period* (London, 1959), p. 289.

⁴⁷ Donne's verse is included in *Ben Jonson*, XI, 318. For a discussion of Jonson's use of the classics in *Catiline*, see my article, "The Design of Ben Jonson's *Catiline*", *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, IX (1978), 67-79.

Lawrence V. RYAN

MILTON'S *EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS*
AND B. ZANCHI'S ELEGY
ON BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE

The quest for analogues to, and likely sources for, John Milton's pastoral elegies has turned up some impressive quarry, especially in Neo-Latin epicedic verse of the sixteenth century. Noteworthy among such discoveries have been those made a generation ago by Warren B. Austin and Thomas P. Harrison, Jr. Austin found remarkable similarities to *Lycidas* in a pair of laments by Giles Fletcher the Elder over the death in 1572 of Walter Haddon, Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth I, and the drowning in the River Cam during the same year of Haddon's son Clere, a young fellow-scholar and friend of Fletcher¹. Some years earlier Harrison established convincing links between Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, on the untimely demise of his friend Charles Diodati, and an elegy entitled *Alcon* by Baldassare Castiglione, on his brother's tutor, a young poet named Falcone². There exists, too, another poem connected with the author of *Il libro del Cortegiano* which may have provided suggestions for Milton's lament over Diodati. This is a Latin pastoral called *Damon*, by an Italian humanist writer named Basilio (*alias* Pietro or Lucius Petreus) Zanchi (1501-1558).

The *Damon* had a rather complicated textual history during its author's lifetime. Originally he composed it to lament the premature

¹ "Milton's *Lycidas* and Two Latin Elegies by Giles Fletcher the Elder", *Studies in Philology*, 44 (1947), 41-55. According to W. Leonard Grant, Fletcher's "De obitu Clarissimi viri D. Gualteri Haddoni, Elegia" and "Adonis" (on Clere Haddon's drowning) were the first genuine Latin pastorals to be printed in Renaissance England (*Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* [Chapel Hill, 1965], p. 328). They appeared, with other memorial verses on the Haddons, at the end of the posthumous collection of the father's poems (*Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo*, ed. Thomas Hatcher [London, 1576]).

² "The Latin Pastorals of Milton and Castiglione", *PMLA*, 50 (1935), 480-493. Harrison remarks (p. 480) that before his own study scholars had called attention to resemblances between the *Alcon* and Milton's *Lycidas*.

death of the precocious controversialist and poet Celso Mellini, "patricius Romanus" (1500-1519), rather than the passing of Castiglione, and it underwent considerable revision before assuming its definitive form in an edition of Zanchi's poems published at Rome in 1553. The initial version, in 103 hexameter lines, was called *Thyrsis*, after its principal mourner, rather than *Damon*. It appeared, along with poems by other friends of Mellini, on fols. Bⁱⁱⁱ[-B^{iv}'] of the commemorative pamphlet *In Celsi Archelai Melini funere amicorum lacrimae* (Romae: Ia. Mazochius, [c. 1520]). It was next printed, with the title altered to *Damon*, in a selection of Zanchi's *Poemata varia* edited by his poetic disciple Georg, Freiherr von Logau (Georgius Logus) at Vienna (without date, but before 1540), in a version running to ninety-seven lines and with considerable rearrangement of the order of verses in the middle third of the eclogue³. In Zanchi's celebrated *De Horto Sophiae* (Rome, 1540) it was reprinted and much improved by expansion to 105 verses; in his *Poematum editio copiosior* (Rome, 1550) it remained substantially the same, though Mellini's name disappeared from the title, which reads simply "Ecloga Secunda Damon". Curiously, Castiglione, who died at Toledo in 1529, became the subject of the elegy only in the edition brought out at Rome by Antonius Bladus in 1553. Therein, through a striking instance of economical recycling of literary materials, Zanchi reduced the work to an even 100 lines and altered the passage on Tiberis' plaint for the Roman patrician Mellini to the mourning of Mincius, the river that flows by Castiglione's native Mantua. In 1555 Johannes Oporinus, in the most complete collection of Zanchi's poems to come forth during his lifetime, reproduced the version of the elegy published in the volume of 1553.

Zanchi, a native of Bergamo, migrated to Rome before he was twenty and, soon finding acceptance there within the circles of poets and humanists who were attracted to the court of Leo X, probably made the acquaintance of the pope's protégé Mellini as well as of the Mantuan ambassador and author Castiglione. A zealous student of literature and, after becoming a member of the Lateran Canons Regular in 1524, of sacred writings, he devoted himself to lexical and exegetical works as well as to the making of Latin verse. Besides a juvenile collection of poetic

³ Georg Ellinger conjectures that Logus may have brought out this edition about 1534 (*Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1929-1933], I, 496).

epithets (*Epithetorum Commentarii*, eventually printed at Rome in 1542), he prepared indices of various Latin authors, among them Lucretius and Catullus, and commentaries on scripture, most notably *In omnes divinos libros notationes. Eiusdem in IIII. Regum et II. Paralipomenon libros quaestiones* (Rome, 1553).

It was his poetry, however, that earned Zanchi high regard among his Italian contemporaries and exerted a significant influence on Neo-Latin versifying in Germany and the Low Countries⁴. In addition to the five collections that appeared during his lifetime, poems of his were frequently anthologized in later Renaissance collections of Neo-Latin verse. The literary historian Girolamo Tiraboschi was to remark that among the great number of Latin poets of the Cinquecento, “Zanchi has few his equal in smoothness, and very few superior in elegance” in whatever genres, since he had tried his hand at most of them⁵. In his edition of Zanchi’s poetry (Bergamo: Petrus Lancellottus, 1747), the Abate Pierantonio Serassi included numerous verse eulogies of the Bergamasque author. All of these attest to the admiration of contemporaries for Zanchi’s work, though perhaps the most extravagant tribute is an epitaph by a certain Gulielmus Modicius that appeared earlier in Janus Gruter’s famous anthology of Latin poetry by Italian authors of the Renaissance. Modicius compares Zanchi to the great Virgil himself; judges him, in fact, superior in so far as, instead of confining himself to mundane subjects, he wrote too of sacred matters (as in *De Horto Sophiae*, where he versifies moral precepts and Christian doctrines)⁶. Little known as his poetry may be today, it was widely read in Italy and north of the Alps for many decades after his death.

⁴ Ellinger cites Zanchi’s influence, particularly in his religious verse, on such poets as Georgius Logus and the circle of Georgius Fabricius in Germany and, in the Low Countries, Laevinus Torrentius, Archbishop of Mechelen, and Robertus Obrizius from Artois (*ibid.*, I, 269, 495-496; III, 243, 268). He also observes that Oporinus’ 1555 volume of Zanchi’s poems “ist ebenfalls in Deutschland viel gelesen worden” (I, 269). The Abate Pierantonio Serassi, eighteenth-century editor of Zanchi’s *Poemata* (Bergamo, 1747) asserts that he based his own text on the Basel edition. Grant writes that “all” of Zanchi’s poems “had a remarkable vogue in sixteenth-century Germany” (*op. cit.*, p. 316).

⁵ “Ed esse [Zanchi’s poems] di fatto son tali, che fra la numerosissima serie de’ poeti latini di questo secolo, il Zanchi ha pochi uguali nella dolcezza, e nell’eleganza pochissimi superiori, e ciò in qualunque genere di poesia, poichè quasi di ogni sorta ce ne offrono gli otto libri che ne abbiamo” (*Storia della letteratura italiana* [Milano, 1822-1826], XIII [i.e., Vol. VII: Part 4], 2022).

⁶ *Delitiae CC. Italorum poetarum* (Frankfurt, 1608), II, 34:

Zanchius hoc saxo tegitur; qui laude Maronem
Aequavit: nusquam voce, vel arte minor.

As a result of his literary associations, Zanchi composed pastoral elegies on three other noted contemporary Latin poets besides Castiglione: on Giovanni Pontano (*Meliseus*), Lorenzo Gambara (*Alcon*), and Andrea Navagero (*Myrtilus*)⁷. Of concern here is the *Damon* because of certain suggestive resemblances it bears to Milton's poem. Not that there are many verbal similarities; these are most rare and, where they do occur, betray their mutual ancestry in Virgil or other earlier models; expressions such as "gelidi fontes", after all, are commonplace in pastoral poetry⁸. What is really striking is that in both elegies it is Thyrsis who mourns for the departed poet-shepherd Damon, and Lycidas is also mentioned. Granted that the three names recur frequently in bucolic verse and that Zanchi (and Milton) would have encountered them, in tandem, in Virgil's seventh, eighth, and ninth eclogues. Still, only in the *Damon* and the *Epitaphium Damonis* do the authors represent themselves as Thyrsis lamenting the death of a fellow-poet called Damon, while introducing as well the name of the shepherd Lycidas. Whereas Zanchi, however, assigns him the opening speech, in this Latin elegy of Milton, in contrast with the better-known vernacular pastoral where he becomes the title figure, Lycidas is simply named as a contestant in the "singing matches" sponsored by the Florentine ac-

Hoc etiam maior: quanto sit dicere divos
Maius opus, Phrygios quàm cecinisse viros.

In the same volume, Gruter prints similar, though less extravagant, comparisons of Castiglione with his fellow-Mantuan Virgil. One, by Joannes Plazonius, reads:

Mantua dives avis, sed ditior illa poëtis,
Quos inter primos maximus ille Maro.
Non tamen inferior multo tu culte poëta,
Castilio, claris rigibus [*sic*, for *regibus*] orte tuis.
Sed titulos gentemque tuam tam stultos avitos
Qui teneris Musis praeferat, ecquis erit (II, 254).

In yet another (II, 1440), Joannes Vitalis of Palermo says that in Castiglione's death "secundum/Hic docta amisit Mantua Virgilium".

⁷ Grant describes each of these eclogues briefly (*loc. cit.*). Along with another entitled *Phyllis* the four pastorals were published together as the fifth book in the Rome, 1553, and Basel, 1555, editions of Zanchi's poems. Zanchi also wrote epicedia on the poets Michele Marullo, Jacopo Sannazaro, and Giovanni Cotta.

⁸ Harrison notes, too, that in the case of Castiglione's and Milton's elegies, "Verbal parallels between the two poems are few" (*op. cit.*, p. 485, n. 20). Surprisingly, given the fact that in the revised version of his pastoral Zanchi is commemorating its author, there are not so many echoes of phrasing from the *Alcon* in his *Damon* as might be expected. The outstanding example is his conversion of Castiglione's "Et nunc Elysia laetus spatiaris in umbra" (l. 95) to "Cur sine me Elysia, Damon, spatiare sub umbra" (l. 77). And this line already appears in the first version of the *Damon* lamenting the death of Mellini.

ademies during the English poet's sojourn in Tuscany—"Et potui Lycidae certantem audire Menalcam" (l. 132).

Structurally, Milton's lament for Diodati is more complex and discursive than either Castiglione's *Alcon* or Zanchi's poem. A. S. P. Woodhouse considers the *Epitaphium Damonis* to be made up of seven parts or movements. After an introductory passage in which the nymphs are requested to sing how Thyrsis bewailed his departed companion (ll. 1-17), the poet expresses his inability to find any consoling powers on earth or in heaven (ll. 18-34); asks what is to become of him even though for Damon the reward of lasting fame is now assured (ll. 35-56); and, neglecting his flocks, flees from the procession of mourners who, unavailingly, try to comfort him, since he blames himself for not having been present in England at the deathbed of his friend (ll. 57-123). At this point, the elegy takes an unconventional turn. In a long digression Milton describes his Italian journey and his plans to compose a heroic poem on King Arthur (ll. 124-178), followed by a detailed description of two symbolically decorated "pocula" (probably books or poems rather than actual cups) given to him by the Neapolitan writer Giovanni Battista Manso (ll. 179-197), and concluding with a triumphant passage of consolation celebrating Diodati's apotheosis (ll. 198-219)⁹.

By reducing this pattern to an introduction, followed by three main parts—the lamentation over Damon's death; the sections on the proposed British epic and on Manso's gift; the vision of the deceased glorified among the heavenly choirs—Harrison tried to establish structural parallels between the *Epitaphium Damonis* and Castiglione's elegy. After its preparatory first verses (ll. 1-23), the *Alcon* consists of the mourning of all nature (ll. 24-81); the author's regretted absence in Rome at the time of his friend's death (ll. 82-129); invocation of the spirit of the departed with a promise to erect a tomb and there commemorate his passing with appropriate rites (ll. 130-154)¹⁰. On this analysis, the structural resemblances are not particularly evident, less so than those between Milton's and Zanchi's elegies. Instead, it is certain thematic similarities, as well as the fact that both authors bewail their absence

⁹ "Milton's Pastoral Monodies", in *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood*, ed. Mary E. White (Toronto, 1952), pp. 266-272. For controversy between E. M. W. Tillyard and other critics over whether the turn to new themes at l. 123 constitutes a flaw or a virtue in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, see Douglas Bush, *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton*, gen. ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1970), I, 287-297.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 483.

during their friend's final moments and that both apparently wrote in England sometime after the event ¹¹, that make likely Milton's debt to Castiglione's poem.

Zanchi's *Damon*, the shortest of the three elegies, after opening with Lycidas' asking, and Thyrsis' explanation of, the cause of his sorrow (ll. 1-18), falls into four major divisions. At his friend's death, Thyrsis reports, nature mourned with him. The sheep strayed and the streams, unnaturally, turned their courses backward. The river Mincio, having lost this son of Mantua, overflowed its banks in tearful lamentation—"Mincius, effundit latices: urnamque patentem/Implevit rivo lachrimarum" (ll. 30-31), while the Naiades, with hair disheveled and beating their breasts, wailed, and the swans sang dolefully (ll. 19-36). Thyrsis then asks the shepherds (that is, fellow-poets) to mourn with him the man whose songs caused even the Italian mountains to attend when he praised Pope Leo X, a heaven-sent ruler ("siderea demissus ab arce"), for having restored Rome to its golden age (ll. 37-51) ¹². The next movement (ll. 52-85) is more complex. Thyrsis bemoans his abandonment by his friend to unending sorrow and begs the gods for speedy death (ll. 52-64); bids farewell to pastoral joys forever but wishes them to continue for those whom he leaves behind (ll. 65-76); and querulously demands why he must endure a hated life while Damon strolls without him among the Elysian shades learning the sacred songs—"Cur sine me Elysia Damon spatiare sub vmbra? / Concessum & sine me sacros ediscere cantus / Aegonis?" (ll. 77-85). In the fourth and last part, Thyrsis promises to build a "tumulus" and to bring with him the nymph Lycoris, the Naiades, and all the shepherds to pay annual honors to their noble lost companion (ll. 86-100).

In this kind of conclusion Zanchi, like Castiglione in his *Alcon*, remains strictly within the Arcadian conventions of pastoral. Unlike Milton, who ends with the vision of Diodati among the saints in a Christian heaven, the Italian elegist can offer only the consolation of preserving the deceased poet's memory and fame through anniversary

¹¹ The Abate Serassi concludes from epistolary evidence that Castiglione most likely wrote the *Alcon* during his embassy to King Henry VII of England in 1506 (Baldessar Castiglione, *Lettere... ed altre opere*, ed. Serassi [Padova, 1769-1771], II, 323).

¹² Zanchi's allusion seems to be to the second of Castiglione's *Carmina*, the "Cleopatra": "At tu, magne Leo, divum genus, aurea sub quo/Saecula, & antiquae redierunt laudis honores" (*Lettere*, ed. Serassi, II, 293). This is likely even though in the earlier versions of the pastoral it is Mellini's praises of the pontiff, rather than Castiglione's, that are said to make the Capitoline Heights ("Tarpeiae arces") resound.

obsequies. Yet if one measures the first half of the *Epitaphium Damonis* against all but the final section of Zanchi's elegy, one finds, given some transpositions of *topoi* and details, structural and thematic resemblances between the two poems.

Both commence with an introductory passage that prepares for Thyrsis' monody. Shunning all company, he makes the mountains, dales, and woodlands resound with his complaints, as he languishes either in the gloomy shade of a holm-oak—"Funesta... in umbra/Ilicis" (*Damon*, ll. 2-3), or beneath a familiar elm tree—"assueta... sub ulmo" (*Epitaphium Damonis*, l. 15). Each acknowledges that his departed friend is now in a happier state, but each also wonders, inconsolably, what is now to become of him who is left behind. Zanchi writes:

Has igitur mihi spes, haec & solatia dira
 Liquisti ò Damon? longum sine fine dolorem,
 Et vanum desiderium, & suspiria de te
 Liquisti ò longa iucundior vnice vita (ll. 52-55).

Milton complains similarly, "Haec tibi certa manent, tibi erunt haec praemia Damon,/At mihi quid tandem fiet modo?" (ll. 36-37). Nor can either refrain from blaming the celestial powers for letting Damon be snatched away so untimely—"funere... acerbo" (*Damon*, l. 18). Zanchi's Thyrsis cries out against the "Crudeles superi, crudelia sidera" (l. 59), while Milton's asks, "Hei mihi! quae terris, quae dicam numine coelo,/Postquam te immiti rapuerunt funere Damon?" (ll. 19-20).

Although Milton does treat the conventional procession of mourners differently from either Castiglione or Zanchi, he is closer to the latter in at least a couple of respects. In the *Epitaphium Damonis*, in contrast with the other two elegies, the traditional pathetic fallacy of all nature's lament over the dead shepherd is absent, whereas in the *Alcon* and the *Damon* it is conspicuous. Animals and crops languish in the two Italian pastorals out of sorrow for the departed one as much as from neglect by the principal mourner. In Milton's poem, the cause is simply Thyrsis' failure through grief to attend to his herds and fields¹³. Further, in Milton's elegy, as Donald Clayton Dorian has noted, "though numerous

¹³ Although in Zanchi's poem Lycidas says that Thyrsis is neglecting his flocks—"en pecudes nullo custode per herbam/Pascuntur, errantque suis cum matribus agni" (ll. 3-4)—a few lines later the sheep is said to be "Immemor herbarum... & crebra querelis" for Damon (l. 23).

shepherds and shepherdesses attempt vainly to console Thyrsis, not one of them mourns Damon as a lost comrade"¹⁴. But while Zanchi's persona does ask the shepherds "mecum lugete, & amarum intendite fletum" for Damon (l. 37), he is like Milton's speaker, and unlike Castiglione, in seeking to isolate himself from their company. In the *Epitaphium Damonis*, when the other rural figures try to comfort him, Thyrsis manages to escape from them — "Ista canunt surdo, frutices ego nactus abibam" (l. 73). Although more tender toward his wellwishers and less abrupt in his parting, in Zanchi's poem he likewise bids farewell to the old familiar scenes and delights in order to grieve in isolation:

Vos gelidi fontes, vos mollia prata valete:
Dulcia rura valete, vale simul optima Phylli,
Vos vmbrae altorum nemorum: non amplius ah me
Delectet vacua carmen lusisse sub vmbra (ll. 68-71).

Another similarity between the elegies of Milton and Zanchi, again a feature lacking in the *Alcon*, is use of a refrain to terminate sections of the poem. In the *Epitaphium Damonis* the same command to the neglected flock — "Ite domum impasti, domino non vacat, agni" — is repeated seventeen times, sharply setting off every verse paragraph. Zanchi employs the same device, but far more sparingly, to mark off all but one of the major divisions of his argument. His poem has, moreover, two refrains instead of one. The first — "O mecum luctus aurae ingeminate recentes" — appears twice, near the end of the introductory passage (l. 16) and at the close of the first movement, the lament of all nature over Damon (l. 36). The second — "Hei mihi iam carmen suspiria interrumpunt" — finishes all of the other principal sections and subsections described above (at ll. 51, 64, 76), though it is lacking between the third main division and the conclusion.

All three pastorals have in common the theme, which David Daiches has observed in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, of "shepherds as companions, as artists (singers of artful songs), and as guardians (of flocks)"¹⁵. Although the last of these attributes, so prominent in *Lycidas* in the sense of shepherds as ecclesiastical pastors, is emphasized less in these three Latin elegies, the idea of guardianship is implicit in Milton's dashed

¹⁴ *The English Diodatis* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1950), p. 178.

¹⁵ "Some Aspects of Milton's Pastoral Imagery", *More Literary Essays* (Chicago, 1968), p. 102.

hopes for Diodati's future career, in Falcone's function as tutor to Castiglione's brother, and in the latter author's own prominent role as a nuncio for the Holy see and, had he lived to exercise it, as bishop of Avila, to which benefice the Emperor Charles V had nominated him shortly before his death. All three poems, too, adopt the convention of the deceased poet as shepherd; in each instance, the elegist is addressing someone whose literary achievement he genuinely admires. On the notion of companionship, both Castiglione and Milton, because of their greater intimacy with the departed person, are immeasurably more personal than, and superior in their poetic handling of the theme to, Zanchi. It is true that Zanchi's *Thyrsis* does call himself Damon's comrade and begs the merciless gods "Me quoque nunc stygias comitem detrudite ad undas" (l. 60). These words, however, are patently less sincere than the simpler "quis mihi fidus/Haerebit lateri comes" (ll. 37-38) with which Milton, as had Castiglione, begins a moving and intensely personal passage about past joys shared with the lost companion. After all, Zanchi's pastoral, written during his youth to commemorate Celso Mellini, became an elegy on Castiglione only upon its fourth appearance in print and, strangely, more than twenty years after the Mantuan nobleman's death. The specific, convincing details of the *Alcon* and the *Epitaphium Damonis* are lacking in the *Damon*, where Thyrsis is given the merely generalized outburst, "Te moriente omnis vivendi erepta voluptas" (l. 63).

Although the *Damon* is not so fine an elegy as the *Alcon*, it appears also to have formed part of the intricate background for the *Epitaphium Damonis*. In dealing with Milton's pastorals, of course, one should speak of direct sources and influences—even of Virgil and the most obvious Greek and Neo-Latin masters—only with extreme hesitation. That he actually knew Zanchi's elegy can not be established; certainly the Italian writer's name does not occur in his published work. Still, given the parallels between Castiglione's poem and Milton's, the latter's awareness of another epicomic piece entitled *Damon*, composed by a well-known humanist poet and lamenting the death of the author of the *Alcon*, is a strong probability. Suggestion of yet another possible source of inspiration in no way vitiates the originality, and superiority, of Milton as a pastoral elegist. It shows, rather, that he may have learned as much, if not more, about writing in this genre from his Neo-Latin as from his

ancient classical predecessors¹⁶. It should also confirm the principle that a truly creative genius often distills through his imagination gatherings from many lesser craftsmen in order to produce his own distinctive kind of masterpiece.

Stanford University.

¹⁶ Curiously Douglas Bush remarks of Milton's poem that, "since Neo-Latin elegists of the Renaissance do not seem to be especially devoted to the pastoral convention, the *Epitaphium* can be called a return to the Greek mode" (*op. cit.*, I, 285). Yet, in addition to the fact that Castiglione's and Zanchi's practice may have served as part of Milton's inspiration, Grant has offered substantial evidence that "the use of pastoral as epicedium (dirge)" was "a common practice" among such Renaissance Latinists as would have been familiar to him (*op. cit.*, pp. 306-330).

The following edition of Zanchi's elegy is based on the version printed in his *Poematum libri VII* (Romae: Antonius Bladus, 1553), fols. 81^v-83^r [L^v-L^{ijj}]. This was the first edition in which the title bears Castiglione's name and is the definitive revision of the poem. Although Oporinus' Basel volume of 1555, also published during Zanchi's lifetime, added an eighth book of verse and was used by the Abate Serassi for his edition (Bergamo, 1747), there is no indication that the author had any part in its production. It contains no significant alterations, and its printing is inferior to that of the 1553 volume. Except for silently expanding the abbreviation of the enclitic *-que*, the only one used by Bladus, and numbering the lines, I have reproduced the text without changes in orthography or punctuation, even though the pointing may seem too light in comparison with modern practice. Nor have I indicated minor differences in spelling that reflect varying practices among the several printers of the poem. In the notes are given variant readings from the four earlier printings and from Oporinus' edition; these are identified by the following symbols:

- M: *In Celsi Archelai Melini funere amicorum lacrimae* (Romae: Ia. Mazochius, [c. 1520]). Three examples of this commemorative pamphlet are in the Vatican Library: Racc. I.IV.1754 (3); Racc. IV.1899 (18); Rossiana 7869. The variant readings from M given below come from Racc. IV.1899 (18).
- V: *Lucii Petreii Zanchi Poemata varia*, ed. Georgius Logus (Vienna, n.d.).
- R₁: *Basilii Zanchi Bergomatis De Horto Sophiae libri duo. Eiusdem varia poemata, quae olim sub L. Petreii Zanchi nomine aedidit* (Romae: Antonius Bladus Asolanus, 1540).
- R₂: *Basilii Zanchi Poematum editio copiosior* (Romae, 1550). Colophon: Apud Valerium & Loisium Fratres Doricos. Romae M. D. L., mense Ianuario.
- B: *Basilii Zanchi Bergomatis Poematum libri VIII. Laurentii Gambarae Brixiani Poematum libri III* (Basileae: per Ioannem Oporinum, [1555]).

*
* * *

fol. 81^v
(L^v)

ECLOGA TERTIA DAMON,
SIVE BALTASSAR CASTALIO.
LYCIDAS. THYRSIS.

- Ly. Quid tantum insano foedantem pectora luctu
Funesta te Thyrsi iuuat tabescere in vmbra
Ilicis? en pecudes nullo custode per herbam
Pascuntur; errantque suis cum matribus agni;
5 Nec nomen late clarum Nesidos ad auras
Antra doces iactare, & pictas gramine ripas;
Sed tantum tristes referunt nemora auia cantus;
Tristiaque argutae responsant carmina valles.
Dic luctus quae causa noui carissime Thyrsi?
10 Dic age qui moesto tanti sub corde dolores?
Th. Ah dolor, ah lachrimae, singultibus interrupta
Ipsa nequit superas vox aegra erumpere ad auras:
Ah miser ante diem, merita nec morte peremptus
Occidit, & longo clausit sua lumina somno
15 Infelix Damon; crescat dolor, & lamenta.
O mecum luctus aurae ingeminate recentes.
Ly. Prò facinus, carum ne mihi mors abstulit heu heu
Impia mors Damonem; & funere mersit acerbo?
Th. Heu perijt mea vita, animae & solatia nostrae;
20 Heu perijt Damon; crescat dolor, & lamenta.
Nec mirum ò Lycida, primis data signa diebus
Hoc ante exitium; liquidos auertitur amnes
Immemor herbarum quadrupes; & crebra querelis
Frondeferum nemus, & saltus & pascua complet.
25 Quin etiam patrios praeterlabentia fines
Flexerunt retro moerentes flumina cursus.
Ipse autem fractis imo caput abdidit alueo
Cornibus, & viridi circum stillantia musco
Abrupitserta, & glaucos discidit amictus
30 Mincius effundit latices: vnamque patentem
Impleuit riuo lachrimarum; & candida circum
Pectora foedantes pugnis, atque vnguibus ora
Caeruleae comites, scisso per colla capillo
Fleuerunt patrias mulcentem cantibus vndas:

fol. 82^r
(Lij^r)

- 35 Et niuei in ripa cecinistis flebili Cyni.
 O mecum luctus aurae ingeminate recentes.
 Vos mecum lugete, & amarum intendite fletum
 Pastores, siqua est pietas, si funera tangunt
 Damonis; vestri spes, & solatia Damon,
- 40 Damon pastorum decus ingens, cui iuga saepe
 Nimbosi Apennini, cui Saturniae arces
 Demisere caput cantanti, ad carmina cautes
 Venistis, rigidaeque altis de montibus orni.
 Dumque ille egregias laudes, & facta Leontis
- 45 Personat, intonsi referunt ad sydera montes
 Egregias laudes; primus tu pascua nobis
 Restituis: Tu siderea demissus ab arce
 Praesidium fessis rebus; dum tu optime Patrum
 Terrarum late ingentes moderaris habenas,
- 50 Aurea sublati remeabunt saecula bellis.
 Hei mihi iam carmen suspiria interrumpunt.
 Has igitur mihi spes, haec & solatia dira
 Liquisti ò Damon? longum sine fine dolorem,
 Et vanum desiderium, & suspiria de te
- 55 Liquisti ò longa iucundior vnice vita.
 Vellera quum setis aries mutarit, & hircus
 Velleribus setas, dolor, & suspiria me me,
 Ah miserum me me linquent, curaeque sequaces.
 Crudeles superi, crudelia sidera nunc me,
- 60 Me quoque nunc stygias comitem detrudite ad vndas.
 Nam quid ego heu sine te Damon, dulcissime Damon
 Heu quid agam miser? aut vitae quae gaudia quaeram?
 Te moriente omnis viuendi erepta voluptas.
 Hei mihi iam carmen suspiria interrumpunt.
- 65 Quis igitur capiti lymphas, heu quis dabit atros
 His oculis fontes lachrimarum, vt plurima tristes
 Abluit vnda genas? tellus vicina madescat?
 Vos gelidi fontes, vos mollia prata valete:
 Dulcia rura valete, vale simul optima Phylli,
- 70 Vos vmbrae altorum nemorum: non amplius ah me
 Delectet vacua carmen luisse sub vmbra.
 Viuite iam fontes, & pascua, viuite syluae;
 Vos cantus, & plectra iuuent, mollesque choreae

fol. 82^v
 (Lij^v)

- Nymphae noster amor, nos & suspiria, & acres
 75 Singultus, lachrimaeque decent, & funera tristia.
 Hei mihi iam carmen suspiria interrumpunt.
 Cur sine me Elysia Damon spatiare sub vmbra?
 Concessum & sine me sacros ediscere cantus
 fol. 83^r Aegonis? quem Parthenope, quem caerula Siren
 (Lij^r) 80 Iandudum obstupuit, summi quum saxa Vesaeui,
 Et Gauri socio resonarent antra fauore.
 Incultum solis in rupibus exigere aeuum
 Amentem iubet ipse dolor Damone perempto,
 Donec saeua meos tandem mors soluerit artus;
 85 Inuisam & dederit nobis abrumpere vitam.
 Non tamen ante mihi torpentia lumina morte
 Languescent, tibi quam Damon pia funera soluam:
 Constituam & tumulum: & tumulo solennia mittam.
 Pastores mecum certis altaria donis
 90 Et statuent: mecum & cineri fragrantia dona
 Infundent, herbas adolentes, & beneolens thus.
 Hic mecum formosa etiam tua cura Lycoris,
 Naides & moestis percussae pectora palmis
 Flauentes soluent crines; & busta profusis
 95 Conspergent lachrimis: & foemineo vlulatu
 Placabuntque pios manes, & carmina dicent;
 Quae quondam edocuit niueas laniata papillas
 Moesta Venus, pharij quum funera fleret Adonis;
 Aeternum & salue singultibus intermistis,
 100 Aeternumque vale dicent ò maxime Damon.

VARIANT VERSIONS

- Tit. in M:* Petrei Zanchi Bergomatis Thyrsis. A Quo Celsi Archelai Melini mors deploratur.
Tit. in V: Ecloga Damon. In qva defetur [*sic*] mors Celsi Melini patricii Romani. Lycidas et Thyrsis.
Tit. in R₁: Ecloga Damon in qva defletvr mors Celsi Archelai Melini patricii Romani. Lycidas et Thyrsis.
Tit. in R₂: Ecloga secunda Damon. Lycidas. Thyrsis.
Tit. in B: Ecloga III. Damon, siue Baltazar Castalio. Lycidas. Thyrsis.
 9 Thyrsis: V.

- 11 lachrimae: pietas *in* V.
12 aegra: aegre *in* M; aequa *in* V.
13 *omitted in* V.
17 carumne: M.
22 amneis: M.
25 preter labentia: V.
28 Cornibus indignans Thyberis: M, V, R₁, R₂.
28-30 & viridi... latices: *omitted in* V, R₁, R₂.
30 effundens: B.
35 *omitted in* M, V, R₁, R₂.
36 O: vos *in* M.

Venistis/rigidaeque altis de montibus orni.
 Dumque ille egregias laudes & facta Leontis
 Personat, intonsi referunt ad sidera montes
 Egregias laudes. Primus tu pascua nobis
 Restituis, tu siderea demissus ab arce
 Praesidium fessis rebus, dum tu optime Dium
 Terrarum late ingentes moderaris habenas,
 Aurea sublati remeabunt saecula bellis.

37 &... fletum: novasque iterate querelas *in* M.

41 Nimbiferi: M, V; Nubiferi: R₁, R₂; Saturniae: Tarpeiae *in* M.

67 *between* 67-68 M *has*:

Vos mecum luctus aurae ingeminate recentes.

69 *omitted in* M.

72 *omitted in* M.

86 morta: *mispunt in the 1553 edition*.

99 intermixtis: M, V, R₁.

Ignacio OSORIO ROMERO

JANO O LA LITERATURA NEOLATINA DE MEXICO (Visión retrospectiva)

El estudio moderno del neolatín en México se inició hace aproximadamente cuarenta años. Los hermanos Méndez Plancarte — Gabriel y Alfonso — tienen el mérito de haber sido los primeros y quienes con más constancia llamaron la atención en este siglo sobre el tema. Su revista *Abside* sirvió en el periodo que va de 1937 a 1955, años en que estuvo bajo su dirección, de órgano difusor de gran número de estudios que desempolvieron y dieron a conocer a muchos autores neolatinos olvidados. Los libros de Gabriel: *Humanistas Mexicanos del siglo XVI* (1946); *Humanistas Mexicanos del siglo XVIII* (1941) y *Horacio en México* (1937) así como las valiosas notas de Alfonso en la *Antología de poetas novohispanos* (1942-1945), integran una seria aproximación al tema. El panorama que surge de la lectura de estos estudios es, sin embargo, parcial; muchos de ellos son capítulos de su historia; pero la vastedad del campo y el tema les impidió llegar a escribir un panorama o una historia sistemática del neolatín en México. Estuvo, ciertamente, en su ánimo escribirla; pero la única visión de este tipo que nos dejaron es la conferencia esquemática que bajo el título *Índice del humanismo mexicano* Gabriel pronunció en 1944.

El nuevo interés por el neolatín mexicano — no podemos olvidar los meritorios trabajos de Joaquín García Icazbalceta en el siglo pasado —, surgió casi simultáneamente a la actualización que Angel María Garibay hizo de los múltiples estudios anteriores sobre los poetas y prosistas indígenas hasta escribir la *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (1953-1954). Ambos empeños surgen, pues, de una misma motivación: recuperar una tradición, fincar una identidad para el mexicano de hoy, dar actualidad a valores que a su juicio se pierden. Así lo juzga también Octaviano Valdés cuando escribe que la nota peculiar del humanismo de Gabriel es una “Mexicanidad humanista, arraigada en nuestras antiguas cul-

turas y tradiciones y fortalecida con savias de universalidad”¹. Vista a distancia, sin embargo, la obra de los Méndez Plancarte se resiente del espíritu apologetico que la impregna; frases como “nuestro abolengo clásico no puede ser ni más noble ni más antiguo”² evidencian que no cuestionaron el desarrollo de la filología clásica y el humanismo en España, cuya historia es la más pobre de Europa occidental; evidentemente esta toma de posición respecto del humanismo novohispano y español tiene su arranque en la obra de Menéndez y Pelayo cuyo *Horacio en España* (1877) encuentra un complemento y una prolongación en el *Horacio en México*. La revaloración de los Méndez Plancarte pone mayor énfasis en los valores ideológicos que se desprenden de los textos que en sus valores estético-filológicos. Por ello su actitud se vuelve acritica para ubicar socialmente el fenómeno del neolatín como expresión cultural en una colonia esencialmente agrícola; a ambos se les escapa el evidente sentido aristocratizante de la cultura al utilizar un código — el neolatín — como instrumento de comunicación cuya clave poseen sólo unos cuantos. Pese a esta diferencia, también de matiz ideológico, la obra de los Méndez Plancarte, sin embargo, para nosotros sigue siendo en muchos aspectos punto de partida y elemento orientador en estos estudios.

*
* * *

Nuestra historia literaria es un capítulo o un camino más para llegar a conocernos; pero un camino que no puede ser recorrido en forma aislada; tampoco de manera súbita. Es, más bien, un proceso de sucesivas aproximaciones que intentan develar los rostros de esta Jano bifronte que es nuestra cultura colonial.

La cultura que los españoles introdujeron a estas tierras que ellos significativamente llamaron Nueva España tenía dos expresiones: una en lengua latina y otra en lengua castellana. Ambas corrientes fincaban sus raíces en la historia y la tradición; representaban, por una parte, a quienes consideraron que la perfección literaria se encontraba en la expresión latina clásica y, por otra, a quienes elevaron las lenguas vulgares a la categoría literaria. Su uso durante la Colonia las más de las veces fue simultáneo; pero, también, en una visión de mayor

¹ en Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, *El humanismo mexicano*, (México, 1970), p. 19.

² Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, *Índice del humanismo mexicano*, (México, 1944), p. 6.

alcance histórico, el latín y el castellano encarnaron a los Dióscuros que tenían que vivir y morir alternativamente.

Su uso tenía también, lo quieran o no los escritores novohispanos, un signo ideológico; una contradicción en su alma desgarrada de criollos. En el convulso siglo XVI, por ejemplo, las lenguas se tiñeron de los intereses y las ideologías en pugna. Para decirlo de una manera general y, como tal, injusta y harto imprecisa, la lengua española se identificó, sobre todo en el campo religioso, con la Reforma; el latín, por su parte, con la Contrarreforma. En España, poco después, destruidas las fuerzas representadas por los comuneros y las germanías, los grupos dominantes proyectaron sus propios valores como valores universales y los impusieron a los restantes grupos de la sociedad. La unidad ideológica impuesta por el absolutismo real y sus aliados borró las fronteras e imbuyó de los mismos valores a las dos lenguas. En esta estructura, sin embargo, el latín siguió siendo *el lenguaje*: el lugar de convergencia del espíritu universal pregonado por las clases dominantes; el instrumento para preservar la cohesión de una idea y una interpretación del mundo. La lengua latina, por tanto, para muchos eruditos de la Nueva España y aún del México independiente aparecía dotada de intemporalidad. Esto era natural: a valores pregonados eternos e inmutables debía corresponder una lengua eterna.

En la Nueva España los escritores buscaron, afanosamente, identificarse con el espíritu universal proyectado por los conquistadores. Por ello los intelectuales criollos procuraban adueñarse y compartir un idioma que tenía la capacidad de introducirlos al campo de la cultura y, a la vez, dotarlos de una voz. El sistema educativo mismo se los exigía. La sociedad toda los cohesionaba por un sentimiento de clase en torno a los valores del absolutismo. Pero existía la otra verdad: si el intelectual novohispano participaba de una cultura, se identificaba con estructuras y valores señoriales, también se sentía prisionero de palabras que no eran las suyas; de ahí que surgieran, como la imagen en el espejo, conciencias desgarradas, mal disimuladas bajo los velos religiosos, que sospechaban ya su otredad.

Durante los trescientos años que duró la Colonia, la literatura, las ciencias y la cultura se escribieron en ambas lenguas y ambas forman un solo *corpus*. Ignorar una de ellas, una de las caras de Jano, es amputar o deformar el conjunto de nuestra historia cultural. Por todas estas razones es empresa fascinante aventurarse por el sinuoso camino del neolatín en México; sacar a flote su espíritu; manifestar sus titubeos

y contradicciones; evidenciar sus valores; sistematizar su estudio; preparar el camino para escribir su historia.

*
* *

Las primeras palabras latinas que se escucharon en lo que sería Nueva España las pronunció, a no dudar, Jerónimo de Aguilar, el intérprete de Cortés. Ellas debieron resonar bajo las selvas del sudeste de México en el año de 1511. Bernal Díaz del Castillo cuenta cómo en 1519, en la vuelta que los navíos de Cortés hicieron a Cozumel, se vino a ellos un español que estaba en poder de los mayas. Al pedir su rescate “dijo, aunque no bien pronunciado — narra el cronista — que se decía Jerónimo de Aguilar, y que era natural de Ecija, y que tenía órdenes de Evangelio; que tenía ocho años que se había perdido él y otros quince hombres y dos mujeres que iban desde el Darién a la isla de Santo Domingo”.

Líneas arriba, cuando el acusioso cronista describe la singular indumentaria del náufrago, observa que “traía atada en la manta un bulto que eran *Horas* muy viejas”. A partir del texto de Bernal es fácil deducir que este clérigo, que defendió su castidad y celibato tan celosamente como su viejo breviario, rezaría cotidianamente, bajo las húmedas selvas del Nuevo Continente, los himnos y los textos latinos a que lo obligaba su estado eclesiástico³. De aquí parte nuestra historia.

SIGLO XVI

La poesía latina escrita en Nueva España durante el siglo XVI es, en comparación con la producción de los restantes siglos, muy poca y lo mejor de ella pertenece al último tercio del siglo. La razón es clara: casi todo el siglo XVI se caracteriza por las empresas de conquista y evangelización; sólo hasta el final principia a surgir con cierto peso la juventud criolla educada en los convictorios y colegios de los jesuitas.

Del año 1540, cuando el burgalés Cristóbal de Cabrera escribió para la portada del *Manual de adultos* los célebres diez disticos, *primicias impresas* de la poesía latina en Nueva España, al año 1570 en

³ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España*, (México, 1969), p. 43.

que se publica la *Opera medicinalia* de Francisco Bravo, conservamos sólo cerca de 20 epigramas insertos en los preliminares de los libros publicados en ese periodo. Algunos de ellos aparecen anónimos; otros están firmados por Esteban de Salazar (*Recognitio summularum* y *Dialectica resolutio* de fray Alonso de la Veracruz), Juan de la Peña (*Dialectica resolutio*), Francisco de Beteta, Jerónimo de Venegas (*Grammatica* de Maturino Gilberti) y Melchor Téllez (*Opera Medicinalia* de Francisco Bravo). A su lado y sobresaliendo entre ellos por su factura clásica, están los 31 poemas, muchos de un solo dístico, que Francisco Cervantes de Salazar incluye en el *Túmulo imperial* de 1560, con que la ciudad de México honró la memoria de Carlos V.

No es ésta la única poesía latina escrita en este periodo; quizá sea, más bien, la menor parte. Es muy probable que en los colegios de niños indígenas de San José de los Naturales (c. 1527) y de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco (1536), acreditados por la excelencia de sus indios latinistas, se hayan escrito innumerables poemas latinos, primicias estos sí de la poesía latina en el Nuevo Mundo. El mismo Motolinía atestigua que “hay muchos de ellos buenos gramáticos que componen oraciones largas y bien autorizadas y versos hexámetros y pentámetros”⁴; y, años más tarde, Torquemada reafirmaría que los indios “salieron tan buenos latinos que hacían y componían versos muy medidos y largas y congruas oraciones”⁵. Toda esta producción, de gran valor para nosotros por ser testimonio indígena, tuvo la suerte de los colegios y su pérdida constituye un hecho lamentable para la cultura novohispana.

En 1572 llegaron los jesuitas. Sus colegios fueron los principales promotores de la enseñanza del latín en la Colonia; al momento de la expulsión, en 1767, lo enseñaban a la juventud criolla en 21 ciudades de Nueva España. Ellos trajeron un nuevo método de enseñanza: el conocido como *mos romanus*, después codificado en la *Ratio studiorum* de 1599, documento que normó la docencia del latín hasta el momento de la expulsión de la Compañía. Su sistema de enseñanza privilegiaba la práctica sobre la memorización. En realidad, en la base de este sistema se encontraba el método de la universidad de París y las enseñanzas de Erasmo y Luis Vives; añadía a estas virtudes filológicas una acentuada ortodoxia religiosa y un sentido aristocratizante de la

⁴ Toribio de Motolinía, *Historia de los indios de Nueva España* (México, 1969), p. 170.

⁵ Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, (México, 1969) t. III, p. 214.

cultura. De ahí su éxito entre los sectores dirigentes no sólo de la Colonia sino de Europa entera.

La producción poética jesuítica aventajaba con mucho, tanto en número como en calidad, a la anterior producción del siglo XVI. Sin duda, en ella existía la conciencia de ser punto de partida, pues en una oda inédita de esta época alguien, llamado Luis Peña, ignora si escolar o socio, hace vaticinar a Proteo el progreso de las letras en el Nuevo Mundo y en su boca pone estas palabras:

O nova pars mundi, nova tellus et novus orbis,
perge. Tuis utinam faveant pia numina coeptis
et longe felix felicia vota secundus
exitus excipiat, subterque cadentia multus
semina non parvo niteat cum fenore fructus,
et vos aeterna quae ducitis omnia cura,
volvite praecipites vaga sidera, volvite cursus.
Tempus erit, nec multum aberit, quin proxima secum
fata ferunt, cum te totos invecta per amnes
fama canat, liceatque tuum diffundere nomen
ultra Indum et Gangem roseique cubilia solis.
volvite praecipites vaga sidera, volvite cursus⁶.

Dos son las fuentes principales que nos conservan poemas latinos escritos por los jesuitas en el último cuarto del siglo XVI: la llamada *Carta del padre Pedro de Morales* (1579) y el manuscrito 1631 de la sección de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional de México.

La *Carta* reproduce algunos himnos y poemas colgados en las paredes del colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo y los textos premiados en el certamen que se convocó para recibir las reliquias de los santos enviadas a la Provincia por Gregorio XIII⁷. El manuscrito 1631 es el

⁶ Oh nueva parte del mundo, nueva tierra y nuevo orbe
camina. Ojalá favorezcan tus empresas los númenes píos
y largo tiempo feliz, camino próspero acoja
votos felices y de las semillas que caen
mucho fruto prospere con no pequeña cosecha;
y tú, Eterno Ser amado, que todo lo guías
haz girar los rápidos astros errantes; rige los cursos.
Vendrá el tiempo, y no está muy lejos, para los próximos hados
lleven consigo, cuando la fama adelantada por todos los mares
te cante, y difundir se permita tu nombre
más allá del Indo y del Ganges y de los cubiles del sol rojizo.
Haz girar los rápidos astros errantes, rige los rumbos.

El texto latino completo ha sido publicado en Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Colegios y profesores jesuitas que enseñaron latín en Nueva España (1572-1767)*, (México, 1979), p. 62.

⁷ Véanse estos textos en *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, pp. 33-43.

compendio más importante de poesía latina de todo el siglo XVI y casi todo él se encuentra inédito. Las producciones ahí conservadas son textos de los profesores del colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo escritas para festividades religiosas, certámenes literarios o actos sociales y hay, también, ejercicios escolares de los alumnos. La mayor parte de los poemas son, evidentemente, de tema religioso (a Cristo, a la Virgen, a los santos); contiene, también, poemas de ocasión como la visita al colegio de autoridades religiosas y civiles, del provincial o sobre sucesos importantes como el concilio mexicano de 1584; hay, por último, un hermoso ramillete de poemas líricos, trece en total, entre los que sobresale la égloga *Proteus* de la que hemos transcrito dos estrofas, un largo juguete éuico titulado *Cronidis ecloga* y una epístola en dísticos en que se describe la casa que los jesuitas tenían en Tepotzotlán⁸. El poeta más importante del manuscrito es, sin duda, Bernardino de Llanos, autor de dos extensas églogas y de varios poemas menores; pero a su lado se encuentran varios jóvenes alumnos nacidos en México, Zacatecas, Puebla, Sombrerete, Taxco, etc. y algunos españoles: Diego Díaz de Pangua, Peña, Bartolomé Larios, Hernán Altamirano, Francisco Figueroa, Pedro Flores, Cosme de Flores, Bartolomé Cano y Juan de Ledesma. Sin duda, el valor literario de este manuscrito irá acrecentándose con el tiempo, cuando se estudien y publiquen las joyas de latinidad que atesora. Por lo pronto, debemos decir que es la principal fuente que nos permite conocer el ambiente y el estado literario del último cuarto del siglo XVI en los colegios jesuíticos.

Poca atención hemos dado al teatro latino representado en los colegios, quizá lo hemos olvidado por que son pocos textos y noticias que sobre él nos han llegado. Esquemáticamente podemos decir que en el siglo XVI hay dos grupos perfectamente diferenciados de este teatro: el que se representó en el colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco escrito para y actuado por indígenas. Torquemada nos resume una representación: "los años pasados, queriendo hacer una representación de la vida del glorioso apóstol Santiago, cuya vocación es la del convento, su mismo día, en presencia del virrey y otra mucha gente de concurso, como la hay aquel día, la compuse en lenguas castellana, latina y mexicana, distribuida por actos, y como mejor pareció convenir, que

⁸ Véanse esta *Epístola* y muchos otros textos latinos procedentes de este manuscrito publicados en *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, pp. 51-99 y 276-277.

duró tiempo de tres horas. Y como para la figura del apóstol, que es la que más se manifiesta y habla, era necesario persona tal, que satisfaciese, encomendé su dicho a un hombre de edad, que había sido estudiante gramático en este colegio de Santa Cruz, y dile una plática, así en latín como en mexicano, que había de predicar en forma de sermón, subido en púlpito, como el mismo apóstol hizo para la conversión de la gente. Y confieso, que aunque lo que se le había dado escrito para tomar de memoria iba consertado y muy mirado; lo dijo tan vertido y acompañado con lo que de repente se le ofreció y con tanta energía y gracia, que yo mismo desconocí el acto”⁹.

El teatro en los colegios jesuíticos, a la inversa, poca o ninguna relación tiene en el siglo XVI con el problema indígena. Es, más bien, un teatro universitario que, como en España, se liga al drama humanístico del Renacimiento; incluso, con frecuencia utiliza las mismas obras europeas. En el manuscrito 1631 ya mencionado se copia, por ejemplo, la *Tragedia Judittae* de Esteban Tucio [Tucci] representada en el Colegio Romano en 1577. Las representaciones, por otra parte, solían hacerse en fechas fijas como apertura de cursos, el 18 de octubre la fiesta de San Lucas, el fin de cursos, la Natividad, Circuncisión, Epifanía, Corpus Christi y la fiesta del santo tutelar de cada colegio. A veces se representaban, también, en ocasiones especiales como visitas de personajes, llegada del provincial, etc.; las *litterae annuae* nos dan noticia frecuentemente de estos sucesos. Las reglas de la Compañía establecían que las tragedias y comedias debían estar escritas exclusivamente en latín, *et non nisi latinas* puntualiza la regla 57; pero en Nueva España con frecuencia escribían la mayor parte en castellano. De ello se queja el provincial Juan de la Plaza en 1583: “cuando a mí me las muestran, muéstranme la mitad de latín y la mitad de romance, y aún más; y después, al tiempo de representar, añaden casi otro tanto romance”¹⁰. Existe otra gran diferencia, sin embargo, entre este teatro novohispano y el teatro universitario español. Mientras allá floreció este género con el abono de Terencio y de los escritores italianos, aquí las representaciones fueron, por lo general, casi exclusivamente imitaciones de las églogas virgilianas. Dos buenos

⁹ Juan de Torquemada, *Op. cit.*, t. III, pp. 44-45.

¹⁰ en *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, p. 46.

ejemplos de este género se conservan en el manuscrito 1631: ambas son Eglogas o *Dialogus* escritas por Bernardino de Llanos¹¹.

Sin duda la prosa del siglo XVI que más recordaba la estructura del discurso clásico está perdida para nosotros. Me refiero a los *initia* con que cada año abrían sus puertas la Universidad y los colegios jesuíticos. Que esta apreciación es justa lo demuestran, por una parte, el único discurso que de este tipo conservamos, la *Oratio in laudem jurisprudentiae* que pronunció en 1596 Juan Bautista Balli en la Universidad; y, por la otra, el siguiente testimonio del *initium* de 1611 pronunciado en el colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo: “por principio de estudios oró un padre de los que leen filosofía, con tan aventajada retórica y con tan buen estilo y abundancia de conceptos que bajando de la cátedra dijo el arzobispo y virrey, que se halló presente, que aunque se perdieran las obras de Tulio y Quintiliano, no hicieran falta donde estaba la elocuencia de aquel padre”¹². Juicio a todas luces exagerado; pero que en boca de fray García Guerra — el obispo y virrey a quien alude el texto —, personaje de cierto nivel cultural, refleja que el estilo del discurso debió ser de buena calidad literaria.

La publicación que en 1554 hizo Cervantes de Salazar de las *Exercitationes linguae latinae* de Luis Vives, acompañadas de siete diálogos de su propiedad, reviste un profundo significado para nuestra cultura. Este texto nos liga, por diversas causas, con lo mejor del Renacimiento español. En cuanto a la forma, el diálogo es un género revitalizado por el Renacimiento; sus mejores logros son, sin duda, los *Colloquia familiaria* (1518) de Erasmo y las *Exercitationes* (1538) de Vives. En lo que al tema toca, Cervantes de Salazar liga su actitud de pedagogo — no olvidemos que editó los diálogos para uso de sus alumnos de retórica —, con la tradición representada por los textos citados donde se hace dialogar a los interlocutores sobre las cosas cotidianas: Cervantes nos muestra, en los tres diálogos escritos por él en Nueva España, la espléndida visión, teñida de asombro y orgullo, de la ciudad cruzada por canales, de las mansiones que se construyen, de los monumentos, de la universidad, de los alrededores de la nueva capital.

¹¹ Una égloga, *Pro patris Antonii de Mendoza adventu in Collegio Divi Ildephonsi*, ha sido publicada con traducción de José Quiñones (México, 1975): Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Clásicos (Univ. Nac. Auton. de México), 2.

¹² Sobre los *initia* véase I. Osorio Romero, “La retórica en Nueva España”, en *Aproximaciones al mundo clásico* (México, UNAM, 1979), pp. 127-130; sobre el juicio del Virrey véase *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, p. 121.

En cuanto al estilo, por último, los siete diálogos de Cervantes de Salazar se ubican en la línea de los renacentistas que pretenden restaurar el latín clásico y adaptarlo, sin perder su vitalidad y elegancia, a la expresión cotidiana. La visión que Cervantes nos ofrece es la del México hispano en el que apenas si el indio es un telón de fondo:

“Hinc redduntur apertae Indorum aediculae, quas quia humiles sunt et humi serpunt, intra nostratia aedificia obsequentes, conspiciere non potuimus”¹³.

Su léxico latino ya se enriquece con palabras indígenas; pero éstas, a pesar de ser abundantes en algunos pasajes, en el conjunto todavía suenan extrañas; por ejemplo cuando Alfaro al ver el mercado pregunta:

“Verum quae sunt ista quae sedentes Indi Indaeque venditant? nam specie apparent vilia et infima pleraque?”

y Zuazo responde:

“Quae terra suggerit, agi, frisoles, aguacates, guaiavae, mamei, zapotes, camotes, gicamae, cacomitae, mizquites, tunae, gilotes, xocotes et alii id genus fructus”¹⁴.

En torno a este libro, la mejor prosa latina del XVI novohispano, se encuentran varias epístolas, prólogos y dedicatorias en los preliminares de los libros que con él comparten la primacía de la prosa latina de la Colonia. Entre ellas sobresale la *Carta de fray Pedro de Gante a sus hermanos los frailes de la Provincia de Flandes* (1529), el documento más antiguo de nuestros textos latinos; la espléndida carta de fray Julián Garcés a Paulo III en que defiende la racionalidad de los indios; varias de Cervantes de Salazar (en *Dialectica resolutio* y *Speculum conjugiorum* de A. de la Veracruz y en la *Opera medicinalia* de Francisco Bravo); de Esteban de Salazar (en *Recognitio summularum*) y de Juan Negrete (en *Speculum conjugiorum*); al fin, una epístola suelta del mismo fray Alonso de la Veracruz, fechada en 1559. Estas y otras más que merecen ser estudiadas a la luz del *Ars epistolica* del Renacimiento.

¹³ “Desde aquí se descubren las casuchas de los indios, que como son tan humildes y apenas se alzan del suelo, no pudimos verlas cuando andábamos a caballo entre nuestros edificios”. en Fco. Cervantes de Salazar, *México en 1554* (México, 1875), pp. 136-137.

¹⁴ “Pero qué es lo que venden esos indios e indias que están ahí sentados? Porque las más parecen a la vista cosas de poco precio y calidad”. — “Son frutos de la tierra: ají, frijoles, aguacates, guayabas, mameyes, zapotes, camotes, gicamas, cacomites, mezquites, tunas, gilotes, xocotes y otras producciones de esta clase”. *Op. cit.* pp. 140-141.

Al fin, para terminar con la recapitulación de este siglo, hay que mencionar aquellos libros, por lo general textos para la universidad y los conventos, que fueron escritos en su totalidad en lengua latina y cuyo estilo mantiene la tónica del lenguaje escolástico. Aparecen, primeramente, las obras ya mencionadas de fray Alonso de la Veracruz: *Recognitio summularum* (1554), *Dialectica resolutio* (1554), *Speculum conjugiorum* (1556) y la *Physica speculatio* (1557); el *De septem novae legis sacramentis summarium* (1566) de Bartolomé de Ledesma; de fray Tomás Mercado, buen filólogo y traductor de Aristóteles, los *Commentarii lucidissimi in textum Petri Hispani* (1571) y la traducción de la analítica de la forma lógica de Aristóteles *In Dialecticam Aristotelis cum opusculo argumentorum* (1571); los textos, hasta ahora manuscritos, de Pedro de Ortigosa *De Deo*; *De Sacramento penitentiae* y el *De fide, spe et charitate*; la *Opera medicinalia* (1570) de Francisco Bravo; en el campo de la filología, la *Grammatica* (1559) de Maturino Gilberti, primera gramática latina impresa en el Nuevo Mundo y destinada a los indios latinistas del colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco; la prolija *Rhetorica christiana* (Perusa, 1579) de fray Diego de Valadés, hijo de indígena y conquistador, que incluye al lado de los preceptos retóricos, gran número de páginas describiendo las costumbres de los indios¹⁵. En el manuscrito 1631 de la Biblioteca Nacional de México se encuentra inédito el que, a mi juicio, es el mejor tratado de retórica escrito en la Colonia; anónimo y sin portada principia con un *In totius rhetoricae libros prefatiuncula* y en tres libros que abarcan 100 hojas desarrolla toda la teoría retórica. En las prensas novohispanas se imprimieron, también con miras didácticas, y promovidas por los jesuitas, varias obras de autores europeos: los *Emblemas* (1577) de Alciato; *Tam de tristibus quam de ponto* (1577) de Ovidio; la *Introductio in dialecticam Aristotelis* (1578) de Francisco Toledo; y la *Gramática latina* (1579 y 1594) de Manuel Álvarez.

SIGLO XVII

El tránsito del siglo XVI al XVII se efectúa en España, aboliendo lo que de democrático había dejado el Renacimiento. La monarquía absoluta lleva a su máxima expresión el dominio de los grupos que, basados en la propiedad de la tierra, imponen sus intereses señoriales. De ahí que la nobleza de sangre tenga su contraparte en el elitismo

¹⁵ Estaban J. Palomera, *Fray Diego de Valadés* (México, 1962-1963), 2 vols.

de la cultura. A esto se le llamó el siglo del Barroco. Epoca de profunda crisis social. Nueva España, por su parte, unió su propia crisis a la problemática de la metrópoli. A partir del último cuarto del siglo XVI y hasta muy entrado el siglo XVII se produjo lo que los historiadores han llamado el siglo de la depresión. El agotamiento de la agricultura, el estancamiento de la minería así como la impresionante mortandad de los indígenas, puso en crisis a la sociedad novohispana que fincaba su dominio en la posesión de la tierra y de las minas.

La lengua latina proporcionó los mecanismos verbales que alimentaron al gongorismo, así como la escolástica fundamentó los procesos intelectuales del conceptismo. La enseñanza de la lengua latina principió al inicio del siglo a aplicar aquí el método de la *ratio studiorum* aprobado por la Compañía en Roma en 1599. En México sobresale, en este campo docente, el magisterio de Bernardino de Llanos quien publica los mejores textos de la Colonia sobre retórica y poética; también destacan en estas materias los textos de Bartolomé Bravo y Cipriano Suárez; el continuador de la obra de Llanos a partir de los años cuarenta fue Tomás González. En el campo de la gramática, la obra de Nebrija, a través de la adaptación jesuítica de Juan Luis de la Cerda, se afianza como texto único y obligatorio en los dominios españoles y, por consiguiente, en toda Nueva España. En 1636 aparece, también, el comentario del criollo novohispano Mateo Galindo al libro cuarto de la gramática de Nebrija y cuyas reediciones hasta 1866 suman más de veinte.

Las primeras muestras de poesía latina que encontramos son los epitafios latinos, escritos en abril de 1600, con motivo de las honras fúnebres de Felipe II.¹⁶ Sus autores principales fueron el ya citado Diego Díaz de Pangua y Juan de Ledesma.

También de la primera parte del siglo proceden tres compilaciones de poesía latina, insertas en antologías para uso de los estudiantes de poética. La primera consta de casi medio centenar de poemas escritos en 1604; Bernardino de Llanos los publica en la última parte, la *Christiana poesis*, del *Poeticarum institutionum liber* que vió luz en 1605. Escritos por sus propios alumnos, la mayor parte de estos poemas son curiosas muestras de laberintos, palíndromas, paromofrones y versos retrógrados, juegos poéticos tan a gusto de los novohispanos. Uno de los emblemas ahí descritos muestra, por ejemplo, la

¹⁶ Véanse en *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, pp. 93-99.

insignia azteca del águila sobre el nopal — *spinoso frutice* —, después de la inscripción *In melius*, los siguientes disticos:

Mexice, dum solitum Iovis ales stemma relinquit,
pergere credo tuos in meliora dies.
Res nova, quippe tibi iam saxa horrentia gemmas,
iam spinae rubeas progenuere rosas¹⁷.

Las otras dos compilaciones fueron hechas por Tomás González. Siguiendo el ejemplo de Llanos, González insertó en el *Florilegium ex amoenissimis tam veterum quam recentiorum poetarum hortulis*, publicado en 1636, once epigramas, casi todos laudatorios para personajes de su tiempo, escritos por diversos autores¹⁸. Por último, compiló sus propios epigramas que publicó, bajo el título de *Epigrammata aliqua*, en 1643. Casi todos, diecinueve en total, son de tema religioso y los tres últimos están dedicados a honrar, en forma emblemática, la memoria de su antecesor en la docencia de la lengua latina, el ya varias veces citado Bernardino de Llanos, muerto en 1639¹⁹.

En el mismo tenor de los juegos poéticos que aparecieron en la *Poeticarum institutionum liber* de 1605, hay que mencionar la singular *Theressiada* o poema de cerca de 700 hexámetros retrógrados, escritos por el mercedario Juan de Valencia en 1641. La obra, con ser un hecho insólito en las letras, sin embargo, no es única sino que está acompañada de un innumerable conjunto de poemas menores — algunos meros epigramas — que integran un *corpus* interesantísimo de juegos poéticos coloniales (palindromas, laberintos, anagramas, centones, emblemas, acrósticos, etc.), curiosas flores de nuestro barroco de Indias y que hace tiempo reclaman un estudio monográfico.

Para dar una idea de la *Theressiada* bastará citar a Francisco de Pareja, cronista de la Orden de la Merced; cuenta Pareja que asignado fray Juan de Valencia al convento de Atlixco en 1641, “le ocurrió hacer versos latinos a la gloriosa santa Teresa de Jesús de quien era afectuosísimo devoto, y poniéndose a ello, quiso hacer los versos retrógrados, al modo de aquel distico que dicen que hizo el demonio según tradición de muchos que dice por una y otra parte:

Signa te signa temere me tangis et angis
Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

¹⁷ Véanse junto con el aquí reproducido en I. Osorio Romero, *Floresta de gramática y retórica en Nueva España* (1521-1767), (México, 1980), pp. 164-179.

¹⁸ Véanse reproducidos en *Floresta de gramática, poética y retórica*, pp. 194-197.

¹⁹ Véanse reproducidos en *Floresta de gramática, poética y retórica*, pp. 211-220.

los cuales se leen al revés de la misma suerte que se leen al derecho; de esta suerte hizo el P. Mtro. Fr. Juan de Valencia muchos a la gloriosa santa Teresa, y habiendo empezado a hacerlos, me envió a mí, que me tenía singular cariño, desde Atlixco a este convento donde yo era regente de los estudios, cinco dísticos de estos para que los hiciera imprimir, que empezaban

Asseret e Roma nisi lis in amore Teresa.

De los otros no me he podido acordar, pero estando ya para imprimirlos me envió un correo con otros cuatro dísticos que añadiése, y luego inmediatamente me envió otro correo pidiéndome suspendiese la impresión, porque eran tantos los que se le habían ocurrido que quería hacer un tratado largo de ellos, y después vino a esta ciudad y trajo, no se si 700 dísticos o 700 versos que no me acuerdo individualmente, aunque sí se que fueron muchos, para los cuales se valía de la composición muy legítima de vocablos latinos, y aun de particular explicación de ellos que ponía al margen, con reclamo al verbo o la palabra que necesitaba comento, y muchos de ellos eran con algún modo de laberinto que llaman los poetas y otros con algún arte particular, que entero el verso es hexámetro y quitada la primera letra y la última queda pentámetro, como se verá en éste

e, Roma sit era rogo, cogor aretis amore.

y para esta inteligencia ponía al margen la explicación del vocablo, porque *era* en el hexámetro significa otra cosa que en el pentámetro”²⁰.

La pérdida de este curioso juego poético es un hecho lamentable para la literatura; sin embargo, esperamos que alguna vez aparezca en los archivos españoles, pues el mismo Pareja cuenta que cuando el vicario general Jacinto de Palma partió de regreso a su natal España lo llevó entre sus papeles con la mira de publicarlo.

Contemporáneo de Valencia fue Mateo de Castroverde quien, por 1645, escribió un *Panegyris Conceptionis Marianae in America celebrata*; desgraciadamente este poema tampoco llegó a la imprenta y los únicos versos que se salvaron son los pocos que Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora incluyó en el *Triunfo parténico*, publicado en 1683. De este pequeño fragmento, setenta versos en total, reproduzco unos cuantos que describen las fiestas que la ciudad de México hizo en honor de la Purísima:

²⁰ en *Cronica de la Provincia de la Visitación de Nuestra señora de la Merced redención de cautivos de la Nueva España*, (México, 1833), pp. 96-98.

Mexicus interea toto celeberrima mundo
 ingeniis, opibusque vicens, cui summa potestas
 cum summa pietate manet, cupit ultima amoris
 edere signa sui; populos sibi foedere iunctos
 ad se festa vocat, subito cum densa gregatim
 agmina, confusis equitum, peditumque catervis,
 urbibus e cunctis properant. iam tecta domorum
 ignitis accensa rogis super aethera fumant;
 in clarum conversa diem nox atra refulget:
 ignis ad astra subit supremaque sydera lambit:
 fulgura flammiferis iaculantur ab arcibus urbis
 astrorum similata globis totumque per orbem
 discurrunt, crebro templorum cymbala pulsu
 laetitiae dant signa suae, puerique per urbem
 conceptam sine labe canunt. Nabathaea cremantur
 thura vovenda Deo redolentque altaria fumis:
 gaudet uterque polus, caelum sua munera sistit
 Virginis ante pedes; tellus tamen aemula confert
 munera parva quidem, si quod Virgo ipsa meretur
 expendas, sed magna tamen, si incendium amoris
 quod vovet inspicias: caelum super aethera tollit
 innumeros, quos Virgo Parens ex hoste triumphos
 tartareo peperit tellusque per oppida cuncta
 virgineum venerata decus, modulatur honores,
 queis sibi pro meritis totus famulatur Olympus²¹.

El fasto barroco, los fuegos nocturnos, los adornos, los cantos, los toques de campanas y las solemnes y ricas ceremonias religiosas aquí.

²¹ “México, entre tanto, celeberrima en todo el mundo por los ingenios, floreciente en riquezas, que une el sumo poder a la suma piedad, deseó que los pueblos a ella unidos en alianza, hicieran públicas las señas de su amor. Tan pronto como la fiesta convoca, de todas las ciudades densos grupos en abigarradas multitudes a pie y a caballo a ella se dirigen en grupos; ya los techos de las casas humean a los cielos iluminados por las hogueras encendidas; la negra noche convertida en claro día refulge; el fuego sube a los cielos y lame las más altas estrellas; semejantes a multitudes de astros los rayos son arrojados desde las encendidas fortalezas y corren por toda la urbe; con numerosos repiques las campanas de los templos dan señales de su alegría y por la ciudad los niños cantan a la concebida sin mancha; los inciensos nabateos consagrados a Dios se queman y los altares exhalan humos; uno y otro polo se alegra; el cielo pone sus dones a los pies de la Virgen; émula la tierra, en cambio, lleva ciertamente dones pequeños si consideras lo que tal Virgen merece, pero grandes si miras al incendio del amor que dedica: el cielo lleva sobre los aires los innumerables triunfos que la Virgen Madre obtiene del enemigo tartáreo y la tierra canta por todas las ciudades que veneran la enseña virginal, los honores que todo el Olimpo proporciona por sus méritos”. En *Triunfo pariénico*, (México, 1945), pp. 47-49.

descriptas nos recuerdan aquella estrofa de 17 años antes, en la comedia con que los jesuitas recibieron al arzobispo Francisco Manso y Zúñiga:

¿Quién de sedicentes ascuas
te sacó por Navidad
ciudad de Fuego, ciudad
de estrellas, ciudad de Pascuas?

Tres son los poetas latinos que sobresalen en la segunda parte del siglo XVII: José López de Avilés, Bernardo de Riofrío y Bartolomé Rosales. López de Avilés estuvo ligado a la docencia del latín, pues fue maestro de los pajes del arzobispo Payo Enríquez de Ribera; su extensa obra poética abarca poemas tanto en latín como en castellano. “Gran padre de las Musas y honra de los certámenes” le llamó con intenso sabor barroco Sigüenza y Góngora. Entre sus obras latinas, dejando a un lado los incontables epigramas y poemas de ocasión que escribió, sobresale el *Poeticum viridarium* en honor de la Virgen de Guadalupe. El poema, editado en 1669, es importante no sólo por su estilo y calidad latina sino también porque inicia el numeroso grupo de poemas latinos guadalupanos. Otra de sus obras es la hermosa y extensa *Cantiuncula* que, en sáficos, puso al frente del *Pastor bonus* (1676) de Francisco de Montemayor.

Once años después del *Poeticum viridarium* de López de Avilés, don Bernardo de Riofrío, canónigo doctoral de la catedral de Michoacán, publicó su *Centonicum Virgilianum*, también en alabanza de la guadalupana. El poema o centón está formado por versos o partes de verso, sacados de la obra de Virgilio que, atormentados en su sentido original, son combinados para que aquí canten las apariciones de la guadalupana. El *Centonicum Virgilianum* a nosotros, alejados de la cultura latina de la Colonia, nos parece absolutamente extravagante, en el sentido etimológico de la palabra, pero a la época barroca le era muy atractivo este tipo de juegos en que el autor no sólo ponía en ejercicio el ingenio sino también ostentaba su conocimiento de los poetas latinos. Quizá el más conocido, para nosotros, de estos juegos sea la *Margileida* o poema épico en honor de fray Margil de Jesús que intentó escribir en 1788 don Bruno Larrañaga y que quedó inconcluso por la dura crítica a que lo sometió José Antonio Alzate.

Al frente del trabajo de Riofrío se encuentra una *Aulica musarum sinodus crisis apollinea* que en alabanza del canónigo michoacano escribió Bartolomé Rosales. Este poema adquiere por su extensión y la perfección de su forma latina una importancia que trasciende el

hecho circunstancial de ser un elogio del autor en los preliminares del libro. Antonio de Robles en su *Diario* escribe que Rosales fue “hombre a todas luces sabio, pues era consumado en todas facultades, en especial en teología y cánones”²². Es, por otra parte, un hecho curioso que Riofrío y Rosales, unidos en la publicación de la obra de 1680, hayan muerto apenas con catorce días de diferencia. Rosales murió el 20 de abril de 1700 y Riofrío el 4 de mayo del mismo año.

Obras secundarias, pero no por ello menos hermosas, son la *Amoena silva* o floresta de poemas latinos en honor de las vírgenes Lucila y Petronila, publicada en 1623 por Francisco Ramírez; también la *Historia evangelica* que en 1651 publicó el catedrático de leyes en la Universidad don Luis de Mendoza; especialmente atrayentes son los 918 salmos del inquietante aventurero Guillén de Lampart que se conservan manuscritos en el Archivo General de la Nación de México. Estremecedor es el caso de Lampart: murió en las hogueras de la inquisición y, mientras estuvo en la cárcel, escribió los salmos a los que tituló *Liber primus Regii Psalterii*²³.

La prosa latina durante el siglo XVII estuvo dedicada a exponer las disciplinas académicas estudiadas en la Universidad y los estudios conventuales; sus temas se relacionan, por tanto, con materias teológicas, filosóficas, jurídicas y científicas; cientos de estos textos se encuentran en los anaqueles de la Biblioteca Nacional. Su latín, sin embargo, casi ninguna relación guarda con la prosa de los escritores clásicos; me atrevería a decir que pocos de ellos se salvarían desde un punto de vista literario. Su interés radica en el campo de las ideas. Hemos, en efecto, aceptado comunmente la opinión de que en la Colonia prevaleció el inmovilismo intelectual; nunca, sin embargo, nos hemos tomado el trabajo de constatarlo en los propios textos.

Sería interesante volver a hojear libros y manuscritos como los del jesuita Antonio Rubio: *Logica mexicana* o *Commentaria in universam Aristotelis logicam* (1605), *Commentaria in octo libros Aristotelis de physico auditu* (1605), *Commentaria in libros Aristotelis de coelo et mundo* (1617) y *Commentaria in libros Aristotelis de ortu et interitu*, frutos todos de su enseñanza en Nueva España y reeditados en Lyon (1625, cinco

²² Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables*, (México, 1946), t. III, p. 95.

²³ Véase Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, “Don Guillén de Lampart y su ‘Regio salterio’”, primera y segunda parte en *Abside*, XII, N^o 2 y 3 (México, abril-junio y julio-septiembre de 1948), pp. 125-169 y 287-372.

volúmenes) para su uso en Salamanca; el de Juan Zapata y Sandoval *De justitia distributiva et acceptione personarum ei apposita disceptatio pro Novi Indiarum Orbis* (1609); los *Commentaria in Aristotelem* de Marcos Portu; los *Commentarii in universam Aristotelis doctrinam de anima triplici libri contentam, una cum dubiis et quaestionibus de caelo et mundo et de meteoris* (1623) de Alonso Guerrero; de Agustín Sierra el *Tractatus in duos Aristotelis libros de corpore animato* (1688); el curso dictado entre 1675 y 1677 por el agustino Juan de Rueda y que se conserva manuscrito bajo el genérico título de *Cursus philosophicus*. En el campo escriturario, las obras de Juan Díaz Arce *Positiva relectio super psalmum 132* (1631) y *Quaestionarium expositivum pro clariori intelligentia Sacrorum Bibliorum* (1647-47); el texto teológico de Pablo de Salceda *De necessitate scientiae mediae ad explicanda abstrusissima praedestinationis arcana*; las obras médicas *Theatrum apollineum triumphales latices medicinae* (1647) y los *Principia medicinae* (1685) de Diego Osorio y Peralta. Como estos títulos podrían mencionarse muchos más; basten los citados, sin embargo, para dar una idea de los temas en este siglo tratados.

Si el latín en los textos académicos debía abandonar toda elegancia para servir a su objetivo didáctico, en los *initia* y oraciones fúnebres recupera su categoría literaria. Entre los *initia* del siglo XVII que se conservan habrá que destacar especialmente la *Oratio pro instauratione studiorum* (1644) pronunciada en los estudios jesuíticos de San Pedro y San Pablo por el criollo Baltazar López. El estilo barroco de esta pieza oratoria le valió ser antologada en 1712 al lado de discursos de Cicerón y oradores de la Compañía para ser estudiada por los alumnos de retórica. El dominio del latín que Baltazar López tenía le mereció, según señalan sus biógrafos, el título barroco de “príncipe de latinidad” y “Cicerón de nuestra Provincia”²⁴.

Fue costumbre, tanto en la Vieja como en la Nueva España, acompañar las honras fúnebres de dignatarios civiles y religiosos con dos sermones, uno en latín y otro en castellano. Sin duda, la mayor parte de estos sermones, principalmente los latinos, no llegaron a la imprenta o, si fueron impresos, permanecen ahora desconocidos. De los que yo he podido compilar — casi un centenar — 17 pertenecen al siglo del barroco. Su número, sin duda, crecerá con una búsqueda más detallada. Al examinar estos textos lo primero que a la vista salta es

²⁴ Véase *Floresta de gramática, poética y retórica*, pp. 186-187 y 269.

su deuda con Cicerón; no que exista calca de sus periodos sino que opera lo que se ha dado en llamar la memoria poética, fenómeno que se manifiesta tanto en la prosa como en la poesía. Ildefonso Fernández Osorio, por ejemplo, en su *Oratio funebris* de 1642, escribe: “sed provisus honeste sumptibus, quibus nihil umquam, *quod effici virtute deberet*, vir continentissimus *tentavit*” eco del *De Officiis* (II 22): “Male se res habet, si *quod virtute effici debet*, id *tentetur pecunia*”; o al iniciar dice “*Si qua igitur (quod despero) viget orationis ingenuitas, ubertas ingenii aut dicendi eximia vis*” que nos trae a la memoria el principio del *Pro Archia poeta*: “*Si quid est in me ingenii, iudices, quod sentio, quam sit exiguum: aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non inficior mediocriter esse versatum*”. Y como este ejemplo podríamos aportar muchos en cada uno de los sermones. Como dato importante hay que señalar que los diecisiete autores son criollos y entre ellos sobresalen ya por su manejo del latín ya por su importancia histórica Damián Cueto, Ildefonso Fernández Osorio, Ignacio Hoyos, Antonio de Monroy, Lucas de Uriarte y José Gómez de la Parra²⁵.

SIGLO XVIII

El siglo XVIII es la época más conocida de nuestra literatura neolatina. No porque el estudio del latín haya sido más intenso que en siglos anteriores; incluso decayó al final del presente. La causa se encuentra, más bien, en que durante sus primeros 75 años florecieron grandes autores que no solamente ilustraron su natal Nueva España sino que también — por obra del destierro — brillaron en Europa. El hecho, además, refleja un proceso más profundo. El siglo XVIII es la época en que se afianza la intelectualidad criolla. No sólo porque, paralelamente, el medio cultural europeo se estremece con la irrupción del racionalismo de la Ilustración; también porque en Nueva España la recuperación económica, que principió a fines del XVII, ayudó a consolidar a un grupo, los criollos, cada vez más conscientes de que sus intereses económicos y culturales se diferenciaban de los peninsulares. La cohesión ideológica que la metrópoli defendió tan celosamente durante los dos siglos precedentes, principia a desgarrarse.

²⁵ Véase Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Tópicos de Cicerón en México*, (México, 1976), pp. 161-175.

Cierto que el criollo aun no logra formular políticamente su diferencia; pero ésta está presente en múltiples manifestaciones culturales y religiosas. El orgullo de la riqueza americana y el culto a la guadalupana serán sus notas sobresalientes.

El autor más representativo entre quienes escribieron poesía en los primeros años del siglo es José de Villerías y Roel. Bastaron sus cortos 33 años de vida para dejarnos una obra muy significativa. Sus poemas latinos, fuera de la *Mascara* (1721) y los contenidos en el *Llanto* (1725), permanecen inéditos. Tres fueron sus obras más significativas: un extenso poema titulado *Guadalupe* (1724), la transcripción a hexámetros del *Cantar de los Cantares* a partir del texto latino de la *Vulgata*, y un prolijo y barroco libro titulado *Llanto de las estrellas al sol anochecido en el oriente* (1725) que contiene muchos emblemas latinos y una Elegía a la muerte de Luis primero de España. Toda su obra latina, junto con sus epigramas griegos, permanece reunida en un manuscrito custodiado en la Biblioteca Nacional de México.

Pareciera como si la lengua latina en la pluma de Villerías adquiriera el sentimiento y la intención americana; como si las palabras ajenas comenzaran a convertirse en propias; como si el criollo decomisara la lengua de los metropolitanos. Qué otra cosa puede decirse ante dísticos como el siguiente:

Guastecos pictosque Mecos cultosque Tarascos
Caribesque seros Otomiosque rudes.

eco, a su vez, de Virgilio

Etasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelenos
(*Geórgica* II, 115)

adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volcosque verutos
extulit, haec Decios Marios magnosque Camillos
Scipiadas duos bello...

(*Geórgica* II, 168-170),

o ante la siguiente descripción de los sacrificios humanos (*Guadalupe*, lib. I):

non etenim bos, agnus, ovis, sive ulla animantum
45 de grege mutarum cadit aris victima tetrís;
sed de ipsis populis quos illum velle sacerdotes
significat. fumant humanae altaria carnis
nidore; exsiliunt flammis trepidantia membra;
viscera tosta tremunt prunis; cor palpitans ardens;
50 adstantesque horror quatit. at deus ille virorum
(si tamen ille Deus, placant quem talia monstra)

caede saginatus, laetatur clade suorum,
immanis foeda veneratur strage, rudisque
ebrius epoto pinguescit sanguine gentis²⁶.

En toda la obra de Villerías encontramos, bajo el manto de la religión, la revaloración de las antiguas culturas indígenas; su poema *Guadalupe* dedica gran número de pasajes a ello; especialmente, la parte primera del libro segundo en donde narra la historia del pueblo mexica hasta la llegada de los españoles. También equipara Nueva España con Europa, ostenta sus riquezas y pareciera como si dejara flotar a través del poema *Guadalupe* el *non fecit taliter omni natione*. Retomando, por ejemplo, el muy antiguo tópico de la riqueza novohispana en oro y plata ya cantado en 1604 por Juan de Ledesma:

Mexicea si argento tellus, si dives et auro

Villerías la amplía y se goza en ello:

Haec longe lateque ingens extenditur et qua
sol tollit radians et qua caput occulit undis:
Dives opum, dives pictai vestis et auro,
dives et armenti, dives quoque frugis et ipsa
35 felix effossis auri argentique fodinis.
Namque utriusque antris erumpunt splendida passim
semina; divitias ructat satur ore beatas
mons omnis, faeti fortunae dona secundae
parturiunt silices et humus progerminat hicens
40 ingenia atque hominum sortes rectura metalla²⁷.

²⁶ “pues ni cordero, buey, oveja o víctima alguna
de la tropa de animales mudos cae en sus tétricas aras;
sino de los mismos pueblos que el sacerdote señala
que aquél quiere: con olor de carne humana los altares
humean; en las llamas los miembros trepidantes se crispan;
tremen vísceras tostadas por brazas; ardiendo palpita
el corazón; y a los presentes turba el espanto:
pero aquel dios (si dios es a quien tales crímenes calman)
cebado con la muerte de hombres, se alegra
con la extinción de los suyos; cruel con estrago nefando
es honrado y cón sangre de gente cada ebrio se ceba”.

²³ “Esta, inmensa a lo largo y a lo ancho, se extiende de donde
surge el sol radiante a donde oculta la cabeza en las ondas.
Rica en recursos, rica en tela labrada y en oro,
en ganado rica y, también, rica en cultivos
y feliz por las minas explotadas de oro y de plata.
En las galerías de ambas brotan brillantes pepitas
por doquier; todo el monte vomita opulentas riquezas
por la boca; los guijarros, hijos de propicia fortuna,
paren los dones y la tierra, abriéndose, cría
ingenios y los metales que rigen la suerte de los hombres”

Pocos años después, Vicente López, nacido en España, pero identificado con los intereses criollos, publica sus tres célebres odas a la Virgen de Guadalupe. Varias ediciones, tanto en España como en México, tienen en su haber estas breves joyas de la literatura neolatina; también cuentan con estudios como los que les dedicaron Alfonso y Gabriel Méndez Plancarte; por último, hay que señalar la hermosa traducción que en 1623 les hizo Federico Escobedo²⁸.

Rico es el tema de la poesía latina guadalupana que arranca, como ya lo hemos señalado, del siglo XVII; en las obras de tema más ajeno brota, como, por ejemplo, al final del libro cuarto del *Alexandrias* de Francisco Javier Alegre; pero omitiremos este rastreo porque nos alejaría de la simple enumeración a que aquí estamos obligados.

Retomando el hilo hay que señalar el poema *Guadalupana B. Mariae Virginis imago quae Mexici colitur carmine descripta* (1773) del jesuita guanajuatense Andrés Diego Fuentes. Fuentes publicó su poema en Italia, donde estaba desterrado, y lo transforma en una voz añorante que rememora, amorosa, las delicias del suelo patrio. Por último, a fin de siglo aparece el franciscano José Antonio Plancarte, de la Provincia de Michoacán, quien en 1785 publicó sus sonetos castellanos *Flores guadalupanas* y en 1790 el *Poema panegírico hispano-latino dedicado a la inmaculada Concepción de María Santísima*. Estos poemas, trascienden su objeto religioso para ligarse a otro grupo de poemas que, bajo uno u otro pretexto, describen las regiones del país o las hazañas de sus misioneros.

El primer poema de esta índole en el siglo XVIII es el *Ludi tridiculatorum in villa Jesu-Montana descriptio* (1735) o descripción del juego de varas en la quinta de descanso que los jesuitas tenían junto a Huixquilucan. Apareció anónimo en las *Poeticae descriptiones* que Santiago de Zamora publicó para uso de los estudiantes de poética; sin embargo, es casi seguro que él sea el autor pues Eguiara y Eguren asegura que era buen poeta latino²⁹. Años más tarde, en 1744, José Mariano Iturriaga presentó en los patios del colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo su poema de 810 versos, modernamente titulado *Californiada*, en que narra la conquista espiritual que Juan María Salvatierra hace de la antigua California³⁰.

²⁸ Véase Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, *Guadalupe en más pleno fulgor litúrgico*, (México, 1962).

²⁹ Véase el poema en *Floresta de gramática, poética y retórica*, pp. 308-314.

³⁰ Véase el poema en *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, pp. 170-188.

El tema desemboca en la magnífica *Rusticatio mexicana* que Rafael Landívar publica por vez primera en 1781 y, en forma definitiva, en 1782. Los quince cantos son un melancólico y amoroso recorrido por la tierra que es fuente, origen y delicia de su vida — *delicium vitae, fons et origo meae* —; sus hexámetros hacen desfilar ante nuestros ojos los lagos mexicanos, el Jorullo, las minas de oro y plata, la caña de azúcar, la pelea de gallos, la corrida de toros, los ganados mayores y menores, las aves y las fieras, como resume su contenido al principio del libro primero:

- Me juvat omnino, terrae natalis amore,
 usque virescentes patrios invisere campos,
 mexiceosque lacus et amoenos Chloridis hortos
 10 undique collectis sociis percurrere cymba.
 tum juga Xoruli visam, Vulcania regna;
 et vitreos celsos latices de colle ruentes;
 coccineumque dein, Tyriumque Indumque venenum;
 oppida mox Fibri telis, ferroque fodinas
 15 aggrediar; luteisque astringam sacchara formis:
 hinc fusum regione pecus, fontesque sequutus
 et volucres et lustra canam ludosque docebo³¹.

Landívar, sin embargo, no se limita a evocar poéticamente la *cara parens* sino que, explícitamente, urge a la juventud mexicana a despojarse de las antiguas formas de pensamiento, a que vea su tierra con nuevos ojos, descubra sus riquezas y aprenda a apreciar en lo justo sus fértiles suelos, las riquezas del campo y los singulares dones del cielo:

- Disce tuas magni felices pendere terras
 divitiasque agri praestantia munera coeli,
 explorare animo ac longum indagare tuendo.
 105 Alter inauratos phoebeo lumine campos
 incautis oculis, brutorum more, sequatur,
 omniaque ignavus consumat tempora ludis.
 Tu tamen interea, magnum cui mentis acumen,
 antiquos exuta, novos nunc indue sensus,

³¹ “Lléname a mí el placer —amor de la tierra natal— de visitar las patrias campiñas siempre en flor, y con amigos de todas partes recorrer en piragua los lagos mexicanos, los amenos huertos de Flora. Contemplaré la cordillera del Jorullo — reino de Vulcano —, los manantiales cristalinos que se despeñan de las alturas; el zumo de grana, así tirio como indiano. Luego a las ciudades del castor me encaminaré armado de flechas y con la barreta a las minas; cuajaré en moldes de barro la miel de la caña, y después de ir tras los rebaños esparcidos por la comarca y en pos de las fuentes, celebraré los pájaros, los cubiles de las fieras y enseñaré los juegos”.

Rusticatio mexicana (México, 1965) tr. de Octaviano Valdés, libro I, versos 7-17.

- 110 et reserare sagax naturae arcana professa
ingenii totas vestigans exere vires
thesaurosque tuos grato reclude labore³².

Para terminar de enumerar sólo los más importantes, aludiré, por último, al ya citado proyecto de Bruno Francisco Larrañaga quien pretendió, en 1788, escribir con versos sacados de las obras de Virgilio, la vida del misionero fray Margil de Jesús. Sin embargo, los gustos habían cambiado y este poema, titulado *Eneida apostolica*, que en el siglo XVII habría merecido aplauso, ahora encontró severas críticas; la más incisiva partió de José Antonio Alzate; Larrañaga se vió obligado a abandonar el intento limitándose tan sólo a imprimir el *Prospecto*.

De los poetas que escribieron poemas de ocasión o en alabanza de los santos hay que mencionar, en orden cronológico, al irlandés Gerardo Moro, avecindado en México, quien en 1715 publicó una extensa elegía a la muerte de la reina María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya; también al médico Antonio Vázquez Salgado quien en 1722 en la *Vita S. Tomae Aquinatis* versificó en 54 páginas la vida del Aquinate. Existe un grupo de poemas latinos y castellanos de origen jesuítico dedicados a la vida de san Ignacio; por lo que toca al siglo XVIII señalaremos de ellos el segundo tramo del *Panegiris* que en 1740 escribió, en Puebla, Alejo de Cosío³³ y cuatro extensos poemas, cada uno de ellos tiene más de quinientos hexámetros, que se conservan manuscritos en un legajo de la sección Archivo Histórico de Hacienda del Archivo General de la Nación de México³⁴. A ellos hay que agregar, por último, los dos poemas, uno sobre san José y otro sobre el hijo pródigo, que

³² "Aprende a estimar en mucho tus fértiles tierras, a explorar animosamente y a investigar con paciente mirada las riquezas del campo y los excelentes dones del cielo. Sea otro el que vaya por las campiñas, doradas por el sol, con desapercibidos ojos, como los animales, y dilapide indolente todo el tiempo en juegos. Mas tú que posees gran agudeza de entendimiento, despójate de las antiguas ideas, vístete ahora con las nuevas, y resuelto a descubrir sagazmente los arcanos de la naturaleza, ejercita en la búsqueda todas las energías de tu ingenio, y con gustoso trabajo descubre tus riquezas.

Rusticatio mexicana (México, 1965) tr. de Octaviano Valdés, Appendix. Crux tepicensis, versos 102-112.

³³ Véase el poema en *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, pp. 242-253.

³⁴ Véase Germán Viveros, "Apuntes bibliográficos sobre algunos poemas latinos", *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, Segunda Serie, t. XI, Nos. 1-2 (México, 1970), 191-203.

bajo el título de *Poemata sacra* publicó en 1777 el agustino José de San Benito.

Mención aparte, dentro todavía del siglo XVIII, merecen tres grandes poetas latinos cuyas obras, por su importancia y vastedad, quiero destacar especialmente. Me refiero a Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, a Francisco Javier Alegre y a Diego José Abad. La obra latina de los tres no está dedicada especialmente a algún tema americano. El poema guadalupano de Alegre — *Lyrice quaedam et Georgica etiam in americanum portentum Mariam V. de Guadalupe* —, hasta el momento está perdido; los escritos de Cabrera y de Abad tienen acento religioso; los de Alegre se perciben más universales, más en consonancia con los temas humanísticos; pero al interior de los tres, especialmente en Abad y Alegre, constantemente aparecen referencias a temas americanos.

La obra latina de Cabrera es la menos estudiada; mayor atención ha merecido su producción en castellano. Sus poemas latinos casi todos permanecen inéditos en seis gruesos volúmenes que bajo el título *Borradores de Cabrera* se conservan en la Biblioteca Nacional de México. Además de innumerables composiciones sueltas, ahí se encuentran el *Sacrorum epigrammatum liber unus* que consta de 176 epigramas, muchos de los cuales se acompañan de la traducción castellana; el *Hortus mysteriis conclusus* de 15 odas; el *Mars sacer* de 9 odas; los *Hymni et odae* cuyas 24 poesías utilizan toda clase de combinaciones rítmicas; por fin, el *Dies sacer quot odis expressus*. El único poema que Cabrera publicó es el *Hymenaeus, primus festivus applausus vel fama* (1723) del que existe en los *Borradores* una copia son muchas y notables variantes³⁵.

La producción poética que Alegre publicó consta del *Alexandriados sive de expugnatione Tyri ab Alexandro Macedone libri IV* (1775) y la *Homeri Ilias latino carmine expressa* (1776 y 1788). En 1889 Joaquín García Icazbalceta publicó en *Opúsculos inéditos latinos y castellanos de Fco. Javier Alegre* nueve poemas más entre los que resalta la traducción de la *Batracomiomaquia* de Homero: *Homeri Batrachomyomachia latinis carminibus expressa, nonnullis additis*. Por cierto, Icazbalceta no reproduce una copia del *Alexandrias* que en el mismo manuscrito se conserva y cuyas diferencias con el texto publicado son notables.

La obra de Abad, *De Deo Deoque homine carmina heroica*, (1773) ha

³⁵ Véase Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero, *Obra dramática*, (México, 1976) especialmente el estudio introductorio de Claudia Parodi, pp. IX-XCV.

sido la más estudiada y reeditada. No sólo se ha reimpresso el poema como tal (1773, 1775, 1780, 1793, 1974) sino también su primera versión, titulada *Musa americana* (1769, 1847, 1850, 1875, 1877, 1897), que sirvió de texto en el siglo XIX para los estudiantes mexicanos de lengua latina. Las traducciones en verso y en prosa a ambos textos del poema o a cantos aislados se han sucedido, también, con cierta frecuencia. Nada diré del contenido del poema ya tantas veces estudiado; sólo añadiré que, con ser su tema teológico, el poeta, que escribe en el destierro —*exilio quaerens solatia cantu*—, introduce frecuentemente temas novohispanos: describe, por ejemplo, detenidamente la luciérnaga y la flor de la pasionaria y no podía, es evidente, dejar de mencionar a la guadalupana:

- Cum fide adorandum et magnum tibi, Mexice, signum
exhibitum, lapsa et meliora ancilia caelo:
615 praesidium aeternum tibi tutamenque futura.
Namque Dei coram adstante et sic Matre iubente
saxoso sterilique solo medioque Decembri
erupere rosae. Quas asperiore rudique
palliolo implicitas, simul atque Antistite coram
620 (infula cui sacros umbrabat pendula crines)
indigena explicuit (mirum!) ecce impressa repente
palliolo est quam pulchra Dei Genitricis imago,
aligero innixa et sinuosa cornua Lunae
calcans; caeruleo fert didita plurima peplo
625 sidera; propendens capiti radiata corona
eminet; a tergo circumdatur undique sole:
illius omnino ad normam speciemque sereno
caelo tranquillus quam Pathmo viderat exul,
qua neque amabilius quidquam est neque pulchrius orbe.
630 Ut memini! Ut videor, te nunc quoque, Virgo, videre³⁶!

³⁶ “De tí se dejó ver, oh México, una señal excelsa, digna de adoración y fe, lluvia milagrosa de los cielos, señal de bienandanza, alcázar eterno para tu socorro y favor. Pues por mandado de la Madre de Dios ahí cercana, en la colina monda y riscosa los senos de Diciembre se preñaron de rosas, las cuales fueron recogidas en áspera tilma; y una vez que el indígena descogió ésta y aquellas cayeron sueltas delante del obispo, cuyos sagrados aladares se coronaban con infulas de gloria ¡oh milagro!, aparece de pronto impresa en la tilmica la imagen más hermosa de la madre de Dios, la cual sobre un arcángel asienta su planta y calca la cornadura cóncava de la luna; su tápalo que es el azul propio del cielo, lleva una joyería de luceros; ciñe alta corona de soslayada luz y es cosa de ver como todo su dorso es un resol. Ella es así tal y como en el aseo del cielo la había visto Juan, con ojos de paz, desde su retiro de Patmos; de suerte que no ha visto el mundo niña más amable ni criatura más bella ¡Cómo no te me caes de la memoria, que parece que todavía tengo en tí puestos los ojos!

De Deo Deoque homine carmina (México, 1974), tr. de Benjamín Valenzuela, Carmen XLII, versos 613-630. Véase también I. Osorio Romero, “Diego José Abad. Bibliografía”, *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional*, No. 1-2 (México, 1963), 71-97.

Cuatro son los prosistas neolatinos del XVIII novohispano cuya obra merece destacarse del rico conjunto de textos producidos en este siglo: Vicente López, Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, Manuel Fabri y José Luis Maneiro. La obra de los cuatro tiene por objetivo recapitular los logros culturales de la Colonia y rescatar la memoria de los hombres que la hicieron posible.

Vicente López, a quien ya mencionamos anteriormente, escribió un breve diálogo, *Dialogus aprilis*, que colocó al frente de la *Bibliotheca Mexicana* de Eguiara y Eguren. En una prosa, frecuentemente preciosista, pero las más de las veces clásica, López hace, para decirlo con las palabras de Beristáin, “la apología de la literatura mexicana”, el elogio del suelo novohispano y del ingenio de sus habitantes, cuya prosperidad se refleja en la munificencia con que construyeron y adornaron el santuario de la Virgen de Guadalupe. Existe, además, un interesantísimo epistolario latino, disperso en varios archivos, que revela las relaciones intelectuales de Vicente López con varios literatos de su tiempo: con Eguiara, la parta más numerosa del epistolario, discute el proyecto de la *Bibliotheca Mexicana* o sigue la pista de libros de interés para él o para el propio Eguiara; con Santiago de Zamora intercambia opiniones sobre temas literarios o sobre sus tres himnos en honor de la Guadalupana³⁷.

Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, el padre de nuestros bibliógrafos, fuente de datos a los que han recurrido de una u otra forma nuestras bibliografías y diccionarios onomásticos, con frecuencia ha sido considerado antecedente ideológico de la Independencia. Escritor prolífico, su obra toca gran número de campos de la cultura colonial: el teológico, el filosófico, el retórico, el histórico, el escriturario y el de la oratoria sagrada. Casi todas sus publicaciones, sin embargo, han sido olvidadas por el poco interés moderno en la historia de las ideas en México; para nosotros, su importancia ha radicado en dos textos: la dedicatoria a la Universidad que coloca al frente del voluminoso texto teológico *Selectae dissertationes mexicanae* (1746) y por la *Bibliotheca Mexicana*. La dedicatoria es un pequeño ensayo en que hace un recuento de los hombres más eminentes en cada una de las disciplinas que la Universidad profesa desde el lejano 1553 en el que abrió sus puertas. Es importante, además, por su valor como

³⁷ Véase Silvia Vargas, *Dialogus Aprilis de Vicente López* (México, 1979), tesis en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM.

testimonio: en el texto encontramos acompañando a los nombres por nosotros conocidos, muchos otros que han caído en el olvido ya porque el tiempo ubicó su obra en el lugar justo o por que, a la inversa, injustamente hemos descuidado su contribución a la cultura colonial.

La *Bibliotheca Mexicana* (1755) surge como respuesta a juicios desdeñosos y ofensivos que el español Manuel Martí, Deán de Alicante, emite sobre Nueva España en una de sus cartas latinas. La carta intenta disuadir a un joven aficionado a las letras de que no se traslade a América, tierra de salvajes donde campea la ignorancia. Creo que los modernos no hemos sabido matizar el juicio de Martí y nos hemos dejado influir por la opinión acrítica de sus contemporáneos. Es cierto, la carta contiene frases e imágenes ofensivas para los novohispanos y el rechazo vehemente que los novohispanos de ellas hacen es justo; pero también el juicio de Martí se inscribe en un contexto más amplio: la valoración que Martí hace de la cultura de España y, por consiguiente, de la de sus colonias. Martí, educado en Italia, conocedor profundo de las lenguas y literaturas griega y latina, uno de los pocos humanistas, en el sentido tradicional del término, de la España del siglo XVIII, comprende, como pocos en su siglo, el desequilibrio cultural que existe entre España y los restantes países de la Europa Occidental. Su vida aislada y solitaria en este panorama tiñó de acritud sus juicios, pero no los invalida.

En Nueva España, por otra parte, el conocimiento de la carta de Martí produjo un rechazo generalizado que se tradujo en varias obras ya citadas, a las que habría que agregar la *Oratio Apologetica* (1745) de Juan Gregorio de Campos, primera respuesta novohispana. Este rechazo, sin embargo, condujo al criollo a reflexionar en sí mismo y a tomar mayor conciencia de sus valores y sus intereses que cada vez más se diferenciaban de los españoles. La *Bibliotheca Mexicana* y los *Anteloquia*, que Eguiara pone al frente de la obra, claramente expresan esta ambivalencia. La estructura es, pues, la siguiente: los *Anteloquia* reflexionan sobre la naturaleza y el desarrollo de la cultura, incluyendo la prehispánica, en la Colonia; la *Bibliotheca* pretende compilar la vida y las publicaciones de todos los hombres de letras que en Nueva España habían trabajado sin importar el lugar de su nacimiento. La obra, por desgracia, quedó inconclusa en la letra J; pero, además, Eguiara sólo logró publicar un tomo que comprende hasta la letra C. Quedaron manuscritos cuatro gruesos volúmenes que contienen de la letra D a la J. Ahora, como muchos de nuestros tesoros culturales,

estos se encuentran en los anaqueles de una biblioteca extranjera; tentadora empresa y reto para nuestros latinistas, es publicar en una edición crítica y bilingüe los cinco tomos de que consta la *Bibliotheca Mexicana*. El *Dialogus aprilis* de Vicente López ya ha sido traducido dos veces; Agustín Millares Carlo, a quien tanto debe nuestra cultura, publicó en 1944 la traducción de los *Anteloquia*; resta, por tanto, poner en circulación el grueso de la *Bibliotheca*³⁸.

Manuel Fabri y José Luis Maneiro fueron dos jesuitas que, como sus compañeros, partieron en 1767 al destierro. Como ellos, también sintieron la nostalgia de la patria y, también, procuraron honrar su recuerdo difundiendo lo que ellos consideraban sus mejores valores. Maneiro perfiló en tres tomos, una obra que tituló *De vitis aliquot mexicanorum*. En ella reúne 36 biografías de sus compañeros de destierro y que, según su parecer, se contaban entre los primeros, ya por la virtud, ya por la doctrina, ya por las letras. Esta obra, tampoco ha sido traducida en su totalidad y si el investigador tiene la necesidad de consultarla está obligado a recurrir a la ya muy rara edición de Bononia en 1791.

Fabri, por su parte, escribió las vidas de Francisco Javier Alegre y de Diego José Abad; la primera está al frente del *Institutionum theologicarum* y la segunda encabeza el *De Deo Deoque*. Su objetivo es expresado claramente al principio de la vida de Alegre: "Así se conservará la memoria de dos sujetos semejantes en el ingenio, iguales en la edad, émulos ambos en los estudios y unidos en amistad estrecha: Abad y Alegre que ilustraron con sus escritos la Provincia mexicana y la literatura"³⁹.

Como en el siglo anterior, en el XVIII aparecen gran número de obras latinas producto de la vida intelectual de la Universidad, colegios y conventos. La inmensa mayoría de ellas quedaron manuscritas; así los *cursus philosophicus* de Abad y de Clavijero; las obras de Julián Parreño y de Agustín Pablo de Castro y de tantos más pertenecientes a todas las Ordenes religiosas y cuya enumeración sería interminable. Aquí, por tanto, sólo mencionaré a Antonio de Peralta, a Francisco Javier Lazcano, a Francisco Javier Alegre, a Andrés de Guevara y Besoazabal y a Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra y Dávalos.

³⁸ Véase también Agustín Millares Carlo, *Don Juan José de Eguara y Eguren y su Bibliotheca Mexicana* (México, 1957).

³⁹ Existe traducción de algunas de estas vidas hecha por Bernabé Navarro en J.L. Maneiro y M. Fabri, *Vidas de Mexicanos ilustres del siglo XVIII* (México, 1956).

Antonio de Peralta, nacido en Zumpango, fue por muchos años profesor de filosofía escolástica en los colegios jesuíticos de Puebla y de la ciudad de México. De esta docencia surgieron cuatro tomos a los que genéricamente tituló *Dissertationes scholasticae* y dejó manuscritos más de diez. De los editados, el primero trata *De sacratissima V. Maria Genitrice Dei* (1721); el segundo, *De divina scientia media* (1724); el tercero, *De divinis decretis* (1727); y el cuarto, *De sancto Joseph* (1729). Según Eguiara y Eguren los cuatro tomos fueron reimpresos en Amberes en 1734.

Francisco Javier Lazcano gozó de gran prestigio como expositor de teología en la Universidad; en 1755 publicó un *Opusculum theophilosophicum de principatu seu antelatione Marianae gratiae* que consta de tres disputas. La obra de Francisco Javier Alegre, *Institutionum theologicarum libri XVIII*, consta de siete tomos (1789-1791). Tiene un carácter polémico defendiendo la doctrina de la Iglesia contra los “paganos, herejes y filósofos modernos”, según hace constar en la portada. Como se comprende por la extensión de la obra, ella está lejos de ser un manual teológico y es, más bien, una síntesis de todo el saber teológico. Independientemente de la modernidad de sus ideas, aquí sólo quiero resaltar la elegancia de su prosa que para Menéndez y Pelayo tenía “pureza clásica de la dicción, digna de Melchor Cano o de algún otro rarísimo teólogo del Renacimiento”⁴⁰.

Guevara Besoazabal y Díaz de Gamarra dedicaron sus exposiciones filosóficas a la docencia; la obra del primero se titula *Institutionum elementarium philosophiae* se publicó en Roma donde estaba el autor desterrado; parece que la segunda edición se hizo en Guatemala y la tercera en Madrid (1833) en cinco volúmenes; la obra de Díaz de Gamarra se titula *Elementa recentioris philosophiae* (1774) en dos volúmenes empastados en un tomo. Sobre la posición filosófica del texto, escribe Bernabé Navarro, el traductor del primer volumen, que es eclética, participando de la posición moderna y de la escolástica; sobre su estructura, también señala Navarro que es única en la Colonia, pues es la primera que adopta la estructura moderna propuesta por Leibniz y Christian Wolff; por fin, del estilo señala el autor ya mencionado que “Su forma y estilo son enteramente propios para la enseñanza, si exceptuamos ciertos defectos que más bien deben referirse

⁴⁰ Citado por Gabriel Méndez Plancarte “Un gran teólogo mexicano — Francisco Javier Alegre”, *Abside*, IV, No. 4 (México, abril de 1940), p. 14.

a su uso de la lengua latina. Dentro del poco agradable estilo de la escuela, su expresión es clara, simple, objetiva”⁴¹.

Restaría, para redondear la exposición sobre la producción neolatina de este siglo señalar que en el fichero quedan un gran número de obras de diversos géneros: *Initia* y oraciones fúnebres — más de 50 textos publicados —; obras de ciencia, muy abundantes en el siglo XVIII; comentarios y compilaciones jurídicas; retóricas y poéticas, la enorme producción poética dispersa en preliminares de libros, en arcos y certámenes, etc.; sin duda una futura historia del neolatín en México tendrá que iluminar detenidamente estos aspectos aquí sólo insinuados.

Al finalizar el siglo XVIII la lengua latina dejó de desempeñar el papel que había jugado durante toda la colonia. Muchos fueron los factores tanto internos como externos que así lo determinaron. En México, por lo menos, sentimos sensiblemente la ausencia de estudios que sigan paso a paso la uniformación lingüística; que describan las relaciones y soterrados nexos entre los conceptos de nación y lengua.

¿Cuál fue, entonces, el proceso por el que uno de estos Dióscuros, el neolatín, desapareció para que sólo siguiera en uso la lengua castellana? Seguramente no fue ni lineal ni exento de duras luchas. La “cuestión del latín” también aquí se extiende por nuestra historia cultural de fines del siglo XVIII y durante todo el siglo XIX. Durante este último siglo, sobre todo, el latín en México se convirtió en el símbolo de la educación conservadora impartida en los seminarios; es clara la identificación que los positivistas del siglo XIX hacen del latín y la educación conservadora, en la frase de Justo Sierra al proponer la desaparición del latín como materia obligatoria en la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria: “es necesario cortar ya en la enseñanza secundaria, no en la superior, la cadena literaria que nos ancla en lo pasado: así podremos marchar más libre, más desembarazadamente hacia el porvenir”⁴²; pero ¿cuál fue la naturaleza de este nexo? pues durante todo el siglo XIX también vemos aparecer detractores de la enseñanza clásica en nombre de los principios católicos. Por otra parte, es sintomático que en los pueblos hispánicos, cuyo “abolengo clásico no puede ser ni más noble ni más antiguo”, según el grupo de

⁴¹ Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra y Dávalos, *Elementos de filosofía moderna*, traducción de Bernabé Navarro (México, 1963), pp. VIII y XV.

⁴² “El latín en la enseñanza preparatoria” en *Obras Completas del maestro Justo Sierra* (México, 1948), t. VIII, pp. 270-271.

la revista *Abside*, sea donde menos haya avanzado lo filología clásica. Sin duda, habrá que examinar, para entender todos estos problemas, la cuestión lingüística en relación y como forma, también, de la lucha ideológica.

Universidad Nacional
Autónoma de
México.
Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas:
Centro de Estudios Clasicos.

J. A. PARENTE, Jr.

COUNTER-REFORMATION POLEMIC AND
SENECAN TRAGEDY:
THE DRAMAS OF GREGORIUS HOLONIUS (1531?-1594)

The most significant characteristic of sixteenth-century German and Netherlandic Neo-Latin theater was its religious orientation. Early humanist efforts to imitate the intrigues of Plautus and Terence and to introduce the political masques of Renaissance Italy to northern Europe were soon overshadowed by biblical dramas cast in the form and language of Roman comedy¹. Luther's encouragement of drama and Catholic eagerness to respond to the Protestant threat contributed further to the growth of religious theater. In several plays on Everyman and the prodigal son, for example, the stage was transformed into a forum for Reformation polemic². Although dramas on Old Testament heroes and New Testament parables abounded, few plays were inspired by hagiography. Protestant disapproval of the worship of the saints

¹ Among the numerous entertainments based on Plautus and Terence, the most popular was Johannes Reuchlin's *Henno* (1497). Plautus' "senex amator" was the subject of two early sixteenth-century comedies: Jacob (Philomusus) Locher's *Comoedia de sene amatore* (1515?) and Christopher Hegendorfinus' 1521 play of the same title. For an overview of Renaissance imitations of Plautus and Terence, see the still reliable studies by Otto Francke, *Terenz und die lateinische Schulcomoedie in Deutschland* (Weimar, 1877); Otto Günther, *Plautuserneuerungen in der deutschen Literatur des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig Diss., 1886), and Paul Dittrich, *Plautus und Terenz in Pädagogik und Schulwesen der deutschen Humanisten* (Leipzig, 1915). In contrast to school imitations of the Roman comedians, Conrad Celtis and Benedictus Chelidonius specialized in allegorical dramas for the Habsburg court. See Conrad Celtis' *Ludus Dianae* (1501) and his *Laudes et victoria Maximiliani* (1504); also Benedictus Chelidonius' *Voluptatis cum virtute disceptatio* (1515).

² Protestant and Catholic Everyman and prodigal son playwrights focused on their differing attitudes toward salvation. See, for example, the Lutheran Burkhard Waldis' *De parabell vom verlorn Szohn* where the doctrine of salvation through faith alone is upheld. In contrast, the Catholic writers, G. Macropedius (*Hecastus*) and L. Brechtus (*Euripus*) promulgated the efficacy of good works.

contributed initially to this scarcity. Yet by the 1540's both Catholic and Protestant writers were composing humanist dramas about biblical and early church martyrs³. These first attempts to write martyr plays have often been overlooked by many scholars of Christian theater. Traditionally, Renaissance drama historians explained the development of martyr plays by referring to the rise of Jesuit theater or to the rebirth of a new heroic spirit in the late sixteenth century⁴. Neither explanation can, however, account for the 1556 appearance of three martyr tragedies by the Liège humanist, Gregorius Holonius. A close examination of the religious and political environment of Holonius as well as his dramatic theory can best elucidate the origins and purpose of Renaissance martyr drama.

Gregorius Holonius was born in Liège, or in a nearby village, around 1531⁵. Little is known about his youth or Holonius' education before he became an instructor at the "gymnasium Bartholomaeum" (presumably St. Barthélémy's) in Liège. The three martyr plays on Sts. Lambert, Laurence, and Catherine of Alexandria were performed at the gymnasium sometime in the early 1550's. They were so well received that Holonius finally had to have the dramas printed (Antwerp, Ioannes Bellerus), lest his enthusiastic friends publish unrevised versions without his approval. Each play was preceded by a dedicatory letter to

³ Protestant reservations about saints as heroes did not prevent them from writing several John the Baptist dramas. See, for example, the Latin *Baptistes* of George Buchanan and the *Archipropheta* of Nicholas Grimald.

⁴ W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, vol. II (Halle a. Saale, 1901), p. 139; J. Maassen, *Drama und Theater der Humanistenschule in Deutschland* (Augsburg, 1929), pp. 88-89.

⁵ The most comprehensive biography of Holonius is Alphonse Roersch's article in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*. Roersch draws heavily on H. Helbig, "Les Holonius ou de Hologne", *Messenger des Sciences*, 2^e série, 45 (1877), 201-208. Earlier references to Holonius include: Cornelius Loos Callidius, *Illustrium Germaniae Scriptorum Catalogus* (Moguntiae apud Casparum Behem, 1582), fol. F-F²; Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Lovanii apud H. Hastenium, 1623), p. 305; Jean Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces...*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1765; rpt. Westmead, England, 1970), p. 510; Baron de Villenfagne d'Ingihoul, *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire civile, politique et littéraire du ci-devant Pays de Liège* (Liège, 1810), pp. 86-90; Comte de Becdelièvre, *Biographie Liégeoise*, vol. 1 (Liège, 1836), pp. 212-213; X. De Theux, *Bibliographie Liégeoise* (Bruxelles, 1867), p. 548. Callidius, Andreas and Paquot erroneously believed Holonius' Christian name was "George". Contrary to these previous biographers, Holonius is now believed to have been born around 1531. See Marie-Thérèse Lenger (ed.), *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, fondée par F. Van der Haeghen. Rééd., t. III (Bruxelles, 1964), pp. 486-489; R. Hoven & J. Hoyoux, *Le livre scolaire au temps d'Erasmus et des humanistes* (Liège, 1969), p. 45.

each of the three sons of Charles de Berlaymont⁶ who had engaged Holonius as their tutor. Shortly after the dramas appeared⁷, Holonius attended his three charges during their studies in Louvain where he himself earned a doctorate in theology. According to some biographers, the three martyr plays were also presented at Louvain while Holonius was there⁸. After completing his studies, Holonius returned to Liège where he held several ecclesiastical offices. Apparently Holonius did not publish again, and he died at Mons on the 16th of June 1594 while serving his former pupil, Louis de Berlaymont, the exiled archbishop of Cambrai.

The primary sources for information about Holonius' background are the dedicatory prefaces to the plays and an introductory note to Charles de Berlaymont. In these brief essays, Holonius recounted his humanistic training, his views on drama, and, most importantly, his reasons for writing martyr tragedies. Holonius' preference for the martyr arose originally from his reaction to the immoral content of pagan theater. In the letter to Charles de Berlaymont, he asserted that the martyrs' piety, charity and fortitude were more appropriate subjects for young schoolboys than the questionable virtues of the pagans⁹. Later, in the preface to the St. Laurence play, Holonius contrasted the "pleraque lascivae vetustatis poemata"¹⁰ with the present drama

⁶ Count Charles de Berlaymont was a leading general in Charles V's campaigns against the French at the time he appointed Holonius the tutor of his three sons: Jean, Louis and Lancelot. When the plays appeared in 1556, Charles had recently become a knight of the Golden Fleece and was serving as Count of Namur. See the articles on Charles de Berlaymont (by General Guillaume) and on Louis de Berlaymont (by Baron de Saint-Genois) in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*.

⁷ Holonius' dramas were printed in Antwerp, a major publication outlet for Liège writers who did not have a flourishing local press until the late sixteenth century (Gauthier Morberius established the first modern printing house in Liège in 1558). The original titles were as follows: *Gregorii Holonii Leodiensis. Lambertias. Tragoedia de oppressione B. Lamberti Trajecten. quondam ecclesiae, quae nunc Leodium translata est, episcopi et martyris gloriosissimi*; *Gregorii Holonii Leodiensis. Laurentias. Tragoedia de martyrio constantissimi levitae D. Laurentii Romae sub Decio passi*; *Gregorii Holonii Leodiensis. Catharina. Tragoedia de fortissimo S. Catharinae virginis, doctoris et martyris certamine*. All were printed: Antverpiae apud Ioannem Bellerum, 1556. The editions used for this paper are owned by the Stadtbibliothek Trier (Sig. 5/728 8°). The location of other editions can be found in Leicester Bradner, "The Latin Drama of the Renaissance", *Studies in the Renaissance*, 4 (1957), p. 62. Future references to Holonius' plays will include only the title and signature.

⁸ The idea of performances in Louvain was originally suggested by Valerius Andreas and later accepted by de Villenfagne. See Andreas, p. 305 and de Villenfagne, p. 89.

⁹ *Lambertias*, Aiii^v-Aiiii.

¹⁰ *Laurentias*, Aiii^v.

intended to direct the viewers to God. The martyrs were thus considered Christian substitutes for the immoral characters of Graeco-Roman theater.

This criticism of pagan drama had already been expressed by many humanists who did not write martyr plays. Both Gulielmus Gnapheus and Georgius Macropedius, for example, chose religious subjects for their dramas in order to educate the audience in Christian virtue¹¹. Furthermore, Holonius was not the first playwright to consider the martyr morally superior to Roman comic figures. The tenth-century nun, Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim had written four martyr dramas in Terentian style for the express purpose of revising the content of Terentian comedy¹². Hrotsvitha's plays were not only known to many humanists through the 1501 edition of Conrad Celtes¹³, but they were also imitated. A Saxon playwright, Kilian Reuther (Chilianus eques), equally eager to reform the immorality of Roman theater, composed a five act comedy in 1507 on the martyrdom of St. Dorothea for Friedrich the Wise¹⁴. Although it is unclear whether Holonius knew these early martyr plays, it does not seem likely. Indeed, the only similarity between the martyr dramas of the Liège humanist and those of his predecessors is their joint intention to christianize pagan theater.

¹¹ See, for example, Gnapheus' introductory letter to the *Acolastus* addressed to Johannes Sartorius where the author states, "malui enim pietatis respectui quam litteraturae decoro alicubi servire". (P. Minderaa, ed., *Gulielmus Gnapheus Acolastus* (Zwolle, 1956), p. 50). Gnapheus was trying to justify the dramatization of a Biblical parable which seemed to transgress the rules of tragedy and comedy outlined by Horace. Similarly, Macropedius banished Terentian characters from the stage, lest the schoolboys admire their immoral behaviour. In the verse prologue to the *Hecastus* he wrote:

Videbitis gestus pudicos undique
Actusque graviter exhiberi comicos.
Non hic amator virginum, non leno, non
Scortum impudicum, vel quod offendat pios
Oculus, modo spectator adsit candidus.

(J. Bolte, ed., *Drei Schauspiele vom sterbenden Menschen* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 65).

¹² Hrotsvitha's four martyr plays were entitled *Gallicanus I-II*, *Dulcitus* and *Sapientia*. For a discussion of Hrotsvitha's martyr dramas and legends, see Marianne Schütze-Pflugk, *Herrscher- und Märtyrerauffassung bei Hrotsvit von Gandersheim*, Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1972).

¹³ Conradus Celtes, *Opera Hrosvite illustris virginis et monialis Germane gente Saxonica orte nuper a Conrado Celte inventa*, n. p., 1501.

¹⁴ *Chiliani Equitis Mellerstatini Comoedia gloriose parthenices et martyris Dorotheae agoniam passionemque depingens* (Liptzck: Wolfgangus Monacensis, 1507). Chilianus refers to "sacram Rosphitam" as a source of inspiration for his comedy. On the *Dorothea*, see Franz Spengler, "Kilian Reuther von Mellerstadt", in *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte. Festgabe für Richard Heinzel* (Weimar, 1898), pp. 123-129.

Otherwise Holonius remains an isolated case. Whereas Hrotsvitha and Reuther had written martyr comedies in the Terentian mode, Holonius composed martyr tragedies in Senecan style.

Besides his resolve to christianize pagan theater, Holonius had a deeper motivation for choosing the martyr as a dramatic subject. Unlike Hrotsvitha and Reuther who focused primarily on the saint's virtues, Holonius stressed the martyr's heroic qualities as well. In the St. Laurence preface, Holonius contrasted the Christian worship of martyrs with the Graeco-Roman hero cult. Just as the ancients praised the great achievements of their warriors in order to inspire their youth, so should Christians encourage their children with martyr legends¹⁵.

Holonius' explanation of the pedagogical principle behind pagan hero worship provides an even more important clue about his attraction to the martyr subject. He suggested that the ancients had narrated the heroic tales so that their children would emulate their forefathers' deeds. Failure to uphold the virtues of their ancestors was considered a shameful offense. In like manner, Holonius hoped to transform the present generation of schoolboys into Christian heroes. These new Christian "Hercules" were to defend Catholicism from contemporary threats just as the early martyrs had defended Christianity from the pagans: "(uti) ... qui prisca pietate, sapientia coelesti, et Apostolica sanctitate mundum Christo corrigant, reformat, vendicent"¹⁶. The emphasis on correction, reformation and defense is particularly noteworthy. Underlying Holonius' promotion of a Christian hero cult was his determination to enlist the aide of contemporary viewers against the growing Protestant threat. Indeed, continuing the Hercules analogy, Holonius called upon the schoolboys to crush the "hydam illam haereseos septicipitem"¹⁷. Holonius' martyr plays must consequently be viewed within the context of Counter-Reformation activities in Liège.

Since the outbreak of the Reformation, Liège had remained loyal to the Catholic Church¹⁸. The powerful Renaissance princebishop, Erard

¹⁵ *Laurentias*, Aii-Aiiiv.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Aiiiv.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Léon-E. Halkin has written the two most useful studies on religion in early sixteenth-century Liège. See L.E. Halkin, *Réforme protestante et Réforme catholique au diocèse de Liège. Le cardinal de la Marck, prince-évêque de Liège (1505-1538)* (Liège and Paris, 1930) and its sequel, *Histoire religieuse des règnes de Corneille de Berghes et Georges d'Autriche, prince-évêques de Liège (1538-1557)* (Liège and Paris, 1936). General remarks on politics during the reign of Erard de la Marck are contained in H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. II (Bruxelles, 1912), pp. 149-167. See Jean Puraye, *La*

de la Marck (1472-1538), had succeeded in curbing the initial advances of Lutheran and Anabaptist preachers within the diocese. After the ineffectual rule of Corneille de Berghes (1538-1544), George of Austria (1544-1557), a bastard son of Maximilian I, intensified Catholic resistance to Protestantism. Working in conjunction with Charles V and imperial inquisitors, George of Austria proclaimed heresy a crime against the state (*lèse-majesté*) and began to reform the bishopric's Catholic clergy. Despite George of Austria's well-known indiscretions — he himself was the father of an illegitimate child — he was able to check the immorality of the priests and to prevent the ordination of many uneducated candidates. Because of these actions, Protestantism made little progress in mid-sixteenth-century Liège. Only three executions for heresy and a brief iconoclastic revolt occurred during George of Austria's reign¹⁹. Holonius' Liège was a Catholic stronghold. The dramatist hoped, therefore, to contribute to the city's Counter-Reformation policies by encouraging its youth to protect the Church.

Although Holonius viewed early Christian martyrs as prototypes for Counter-Reformation defenders, one cannot help but wonder to what extent Liège's unstable geopolitical situation in the 1540's and 1550's may also have influenced his choice of subject²⁰. Martyrs were instructive "exempla" not only for those who actively defied heresy, but also for those who courageously endured misfortune. Indeed, while praising the fortitude and piety of Sts. Lambert and Laurence, Holonius also reminded the audience of their constancy. The viewers were advised to consider St. Laurence's heroism, for example, in three ways:

Spectate certamen, ubi cum sancta fide
Concertat infidelitas, et opum fames
Cum largitate, atque patientia atrocitas²¹.

The emphasis on "patientia" and the martyr's forbearance ("constante per varias cruces Christi Fide"²²) was not only directed to Catholics who may one day be persecuted by the Protestants, but also to the contemporary inhabitants of Liège. During the 1540's and 1550's the

Renaissance des Études au Pays de Liège au XVI^e siècle (Liège, 1949) for a brief cultural history of the bishopric during Erard de la Marck's reign.

¹⁹ Halkin, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 83-84.

²⁰ On Liège politics under George of Austria, see L.E. Halkin, "Contribution à l'histoire de Georges d'Autriche, prince-évêque de Liège", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 15 (1936), 951-979.

²¹ *Laurentias*, Aiiii.

²² *Ibid.*

bishopric tried to follow the precarious policy of remaining neutral during turbulent times. Strategically located between France, the Holy Roman Empire and the Netherlands, the principality became the scene for numerous encounters between Charles V, François I, and later Henri II. The brief respite which the peace of Crespy (1544) afforded the Liégeois was used by George of Austria to fortify his defenses. But war once again broke out in 1550 and halted the small progress the bishopric had made toward economic renewal. After severe military setbacks, Liège was compelled to negotiate a peace treaty with Henri II (peace of Vaucelles, 1556). By that time, the countryside had been devastated even further by marauding French and imperial troops whose movements also contributed to the spread of the plague. Holonius' exhortations to his viewers to endure misfortune in the hope of a better future could be interpreted, then, as timely counsel for war-weary citizens.

Holonius' choice of martyr for dramatic treatment is similarly related to the history of Liège and its contemporary religious problems. St. Lambert had a special significance for the citizens of the bishopric: he was the legendary founder of Liège. Moreover, Lambert had spent his entire clerical career serving the diocese in both Maastricht, his birthplace, and later in Liège. He was subsequently murdered in Liège, and his relics are preserved there to this day. In adapting the various biographies about St. Lambert to a tragic form²³, Holonius intended to clarify the historical confusion surrounding the saint's life. In this manner he could best provide an accurate account of the saint's virtuous deeds which Christian viewers should emulate.

Holonius' attraction to the St. Lambert legends did not originate, however, from urban pride alone. The circumstances of Lambert's martyrdom provided Holonius with an opportunity to reproach the clergy and possibly even the prince-bishop himself for their promiscuity.

²³ The *Acta Sanctorum* (Tomus V Septembris, pp. 518-617) lists seven medieval variants of the St. Lambert legend. The accounts of the Brabant monk, Sigebertus Gemblacensis (late eleventh century), and the Liège canon, Nicholaus (twelfth century) most closely resemble Holonius' version of Lambert's martyrdom. It is also difficult to ascertain what information Holonius could have taken from a lost medieval French play on St. Lambert to which he refers in the verse prologue:

Certamen ergo hoc in Tragoediae modos
Traduximus primi, vel ut primi tamen:
Etsi audiamus enim actum id esse Gallicum (Aviiv).

At the beginning of the eighth century, Pippin, mayor of Herstal, preferred the favors of the courtesan, Alpais, to those of his wife. Lambert, a holy hermit whose advice Pippin had always welcomed, upbraided the prince for his immoral behaviour. But Pippin's pride and his passion for Alpais prevented him from heeding Lambert's counsel. Alpais, fearful of losing Pippin's affections, schemed with her brother, Dodo, to bring about Lambert's assassination. Dodo was especially eager to murder the hermit, for some of Dodo's kinsmen had recently been slain by the saint's friends. When confronted by Dodo and his followers, Lambert refused to retract his criticism of the court and willingly died for his beliefs. Lambert thus became a victim of Pippin's unchecked immorality and Alpais' machinations.

It is not difficult to see how Holonius could utilize the Lambert material for contemporary purposes. The clergy's promiscuity was one of the primary reasons for early Protestant advances into the bishopric²⁴. Holonius consequently established St. Lambert as a spokesman against the dangers of illicit unions. Before he was murdered, Lambert prayed that his flock would remain pious, just and, above all, chaste:

Sint sobrii, iusti, piique omnes simul,
Et sint pudica castitate fervidi,
Quam morte nostra despicatam vendico.
Discant pudicos me docente sequi toros,
Servareque exemplo laborent ii meo²⁵.

Just as Pippin's infidelity and lust undermined the security of the state, so did the present immorality of the Liège clergy imperil the future of the Church. The schoolboy viewers, many of whom would become clerics, were thus advised to avoid the indiscretions of their predecessors and thereby strengthen the Church against Protestantism.

Holonius' *Laurentias* likewise had both a topical and a Counter-Reformation purpose. St. Laurence was the patron saint of a Liège abbey reputed to be a center of intellectual and artistic activity in the early sixteenth century²⁶. But, as in the case of St. Lambert, Holonius was primarily interested in the lessons Laurence's martyrdom could convey to a contemporary audience. Holonius most likely turned

²⁴ Halkin, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 76-77.

²⁵ *Lambertias*, Dvii^v.

²⁶ Puraye, p. 18.

to Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* whose prose account of Laurence's persecution and death was, in effect, a short drama between the martyr and the pagans²⁷. In the days of the early Church, the Christians in Rome were entrusted with the treasury of a certain emperor Philip during the latter's wars against the rebellious general Decius. Philip was, however, quickly defeated, and Decius, a rabid enemy of the Christians, ascended the throne. He immediately ordered the Christians to deliver Philip's treasury to him. The Christians refused to obey a tyrant; instead, the deacon Laurence was instructed to distribute the wealth among the poor. Incensed at their resistance, Decius began a systematic extermination of all Christians. When, after several exotic tortures, Laurence refused to accede to the emperor's demands, he won the martyr's crown.

The main lesson of Holonius' St. Laurence tragedy is contained in the chorus at the end of the third act. There Holonius warned his audience about the dangers of avarice which have prevented many men from winning God's favor²⁸. This concern once again reflected a Counter-Reformation problem. Like many Catholic areas, Liège was plagued by numerous absentee prebend holders²⁹. The absentee cleric enjoyed the profits of his office without the trials of its ministry. The absentee's representative (the so-called "desservant") was consequently left with little, if any, funds to tend to the needs of the faithful. Such blatant greed, especially among the country clerics, contributed to many Protestant successes in those areas. Holonius thus advised his young audience of future clerics to use whatever wealth they had for the well-being of the poor. Such charity not only exemplified the greatest of all Christian virtues, but it was also useful in thwarting the rise of Protestantism.

Holonius' drama on St. Catherine of Alexandria addressed a major problem facing proponents of the Catholic renewal: the lack of an

²⁷ Th. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*, 3rd ed. (Vratislaviae, 1890), pp. 488-501.

²⁸ Et ut erumpunt funesta face
 Nocitura gravi incendia damno:
 Sic ubi parto sitis est auro,
 Vires tribuit magna facultas.
 Cogit ad aliud facinus dirum,
 Spes ubi nitidi fulgeat auri. (*Laurentias*, Ciiiiv)

²⁹ Halkin, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 272-278.

educated Catholic clergy³⁰. Because the prince-bishop had no control over a priest's training, clerical incompetence was difficult to rectify. The education of priests was primarily in the hands of the cathedral schools and the self-governing collegiate chapters. Although the schools were not fermenting grounds for clerical abuses, they did not always succeed in ordaining men capable of spiritual leadership. George of Austria tried to overcome the problem of poorly trained priests by establishing a seminary in Liège. Unfortunately, the prince-bishop died before the project began, but he had been able to reform examination procedures for future clerics. In a 1548 synod decree, George of Austria forbade the ordination of illiterate novices and mandated acts of charity by which bishops and priests alike could best serve their flocks³¹. An educated and dedicated cleric was thus regarded as the most effective means to regain the confidence of the laity.

St. Catherine of Alexandria had long been viewed as a model of Christian learning³². Drawing once again on Voragine's account of her martyrdom³³, Holonius presented Catherine's bold encounter with the emperor Maxentius. After demonstrating the falsity of the pagan gods to the emperor, Catherine was ordered to dispute with the leading Alexandrian philosophers. Her erudite rebuttal of their arguments led, however, to their conversion and ultimate execution as Christians. Catherine subsequently defied Maxentius' romantic advances and was finally beheaded after failing to succumb to the emperor's torturers.

Holonius was particularly attracted to Catherine's confounding of the pagan scholars. Her ability to use theology, philosophy, history and natural science to demonstrate the validity of Christianity was doubtless considered an educational model for future priests³⁴. If Catholics truly

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 278-283.

³¹ Ibid.

³² For an extensive discussion of the Western European St. Catherine legends, see H. Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der heiligen Katharina von Alexandrien...* (Halle a. Saale, 1890). A more recent analysis of central European Catherine legends is contained in Bruce A. Beatie, "St. Katherine of Alexandria. Traditional Themes and Development of Medieval German Hagiographic Narrative", *Speculum*, 52 (1977), pp. 785-800.

³³ Voragine, pp. 910-912.

³⁴ In the verse prologue, Holonius praises St. Catherine's chastity, courage and learning:

Qua virgo molles fortis excitet viros,
Catharina honore triplici atque nomine:
Virgo pudica castitate nobilis,
Doctorque grandi mente Christum disserens,
Et Martyr alto pectore Tyrannum ferens. (*Catharina*, Aiii)

desired to counter Protestant theological objections to their faith, they would have to utilize their learning as effectively as Catherine.

In choosing these three martyrs for dramatic treatment, Holonius aligned himself with the Counter-Reformation concerns of the bishopric. *Lambertias* dealt with the dangers of sexual promiscuity; *Laurentias* addressed the problem of avarice, and *Catharina* promoted the ideal of Christian learning. Holonius' dramatization of these legends, however, posed theoretical problems for the humanist playwright. The martyr's victory over his persecutors seemed to contradict Holonius' designation of his plays as tragedies. It thus remains to be seen by what criteria Holonius interpreted his Senecan model and thereby redefined tragedy for Christian writers.

II

Theatrical performances in early sixteenth-century Liège were limited to French mystery plays and neo-classical Latin school dramas³⁵. Following medieval practice, the French "mystères" were presented in the church or the marketplace for the entertainment of the entire community. In contrast, Latin dramas were performed by students in the schools as pedagogical exercises. Recitation and memorization of Plautine and Terentian roles was generally believed to strengthen the pupils' knowledge of Latin³⁶. Some schoolmasters also felt that Terence's plays were a useful supplement to instruction in ethics. Others were troubled, however, by the questionable morality of Roman comedy and introduced instead original religious dramas more suitable for Christian youths. These new playwrights often retained the form of Terentian comedy, but substituted a biblical tale for the amorous adventures of a Roman "adolescens". The Hieronymite school was the main center of such dramatic activity. In the 1520's, the Hieronymite rector, Georgius Macropedius, staged many of his own religious comedies for Liège audiences³⁷. The collegiate schools also sponsored several plays. Members of Holonius' school, St. Barthélémy, for example, formed a "chambre de rhétorique" ("Confraternité des In-

³⁵ Puraye, pp. 35-39. See also P. Delrée, "Notes sur le théâtre chrétien à Liège au XVI^e siècle", *La Scène catholique*, I (1928), 172-177.

³⁶ Terence's *Phormion* was presented, for example, by the Hieronymites in 1522. Puraye, p. 36.

³⁷ Ibid. It is uncertain which of Macropedius' plays (written in the first two decades of the sixteenth century) were performed in Liège.

nocents'') which performed many works for the general public in the mid-sixteenth century³⁸. Unlike his colleagues, however, Holonius adhered to the Hieronymite tradition and wrote his plays solely for school performances.

Whereas Macropedius had patterned his plays on Roman comedy, Holonius adopted Seneca as a dramatic model. Because of the lack of information about Liège school theater before 1550, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not Holonius was the first to imitate Senecan tragedy there. The repertoire of humanist theater elsewhere in the Low Countries primarily consisted of Roman comedy. Although performances of Seneca's plays were recorded for the Deventer Hieronymites in the 1520's and 1530's, Senecan tragedy did not supplant Plautus and Terence until the late sixteenth century³⁹. Indeed, Holonius may well have been the first Netherlandic playwright to use Seneca as a dramatic model⁴⁰. It is consequently necessary to investigate the reasons for Holonius' deviation from the popular imitation of Roman comedy and his intentional revival of Senecan theater.

Holonius' use of Seneca must be viewed in light of his institution of neo-classical martyr tragedy. Martyrs had been familiar figures in medieval drama⁴¹. The miracles and glorious deaths of these saints had been naively presented by medieval playwrights desirous of praising God. But such episodes seemed to contradict the bleakness associated with tragedy. Holonius' martyrs, in fact, not only longed for death, but they actively sought opportunities to perish for their faith⁴². Thus,

³⁸ Ibid., p. 37.

³⁹ For an account of sixteenth-century Netherlandic performances of Plautus, Terence and Seneca, see J.A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Tooneel in Nederland*, I (Groningen, 1904), pp. 193-202.

⁴⁰ Holonius' adaptation of Seneca was first noted by W. Creizenach, I, 139-140. See also E. Rombauts, "Sénèque et le Théâtre Flamand", in Jean Jacquot and Marcel Oddon, eds., *Les Tragédies de Sénèque et le Théâtre de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1964), pp. 213-214.

⁴¹ Besides Hrotsvitha's martyr heroes, there are records of martyr plays in Provence, Italy and Germany. There are, for example, mid-fourteenth-century German dramas about Sts. Catherine of Alexandria and Dorothea. See Creizenach, I, 128-129; Otto Beckers, *Das Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen und das Katharinenspiel* (Breslau, 1905), and Heinrich Schachner, "Das Dorotheaspiel", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 35 (1903), 157-196. A Provençal martyr play on St. Eustachius (late fifteenth century) has been noted by Creizenach, I, 279. There were also "sacre rappresentazioni" from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century on Sts. Ignatius, Barbara, Theodora and Ursula. See Alessandro D'Ancona, ed., *Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, vol. 2 (Firenze, 1872), pp. 1-31; 71-91; 323-347; 409-444.

⁴² See, for example, St. Lambert's reluctance to flee from the approaching murderers

the bloody, but oftentimes miraculously painless, tortures to which they succumbed were not occasions for sorrow but for joy. Some of Seneca's dramas provided Holonius with a classical precedent for such novelties. The plot of the *Octavia* was believed to justify the incorporation of domestic conflicts into the *Lambertias*. Similarly, *Hercules Oetaeus* was taken as proof that tragedies could end happily (the case in all three martyr plays). Holonius thus attempted to vindicate the uniqueness of his Christian tragedies by adopting Seneca as a model.

The formal similarities between Holonius and Seneca are immediately recognizable. Holonius' plays were divided into five acts, each separated from the other by a chorus. Just as the Senecan choruses often commented on the causes which precipitated the tragedy, so did Holonius' choruses serve to inform the audience about the drama's moral. Holonius also resorted to stichomythia to juxtapose differing standpoints about an ethical issue⁴³. Finally, the plays contain numerous similes and "sententiae" (some of which are drawn from Seneca) about life at court, the mutability of fortune and the fortitude necessary to bear injustice⁴⁴.

Many Senecan mouthpieces of these "sententiae" reappear in Holonius' dramas as well. But here the relationship to Seneca becomes much more tenuous. Minor Senecan characters are introduced into a Christian context regardless of the consequences. This practice, however, often resulted in the transformation of the Senecan figure. While appearing to imitate Seneca, Holonius was, in fact, criticizing the mechanism and content of Senecan tragedy.

Holonius' adaptation of the Senecan "nutrix" figure provides the best example of his guarded stance toward his model. Seneca's nurses usually

(IV.3), St. Laurence's eagerness to perish with his mentor, St. Sixtus (I.4), and St. Catherine's headstrong interruption of the emperor's sacrifices (I.6).

⁴³ See, for example, the debate between Pippin and St. Lambert (I.6) which contains many "sententiae" about kingship and the dangers of lust.

⁴⁴ A good example of Holonius' imaginative borrowing of Senecan images is his variation of the well-known simile about rocks in a stormy sea. Compare *Hippolytus* (580-582):

Ut dura cautes undique intractabilis
resistit undis et lacessentes aquas
longe remittit, verba sic spernit mea.

with *Catharina* (IV.4,2-5):

Ut dura cautes quassa crebris fluctibus,
Quae nec quieto, nec movetur aspero,
Sic illa molles spernit ad amorem sonos,
Sic illa duras ridet ad mortem minas.

served as a foil for the unbounded passions of the protagonists. In the *Hippolytus* and *Hercules Oetaeus*, for example, the nurses unsuccessfully appealed to reason in order to convince their mistresses of the folly of their anger and lust⁴⁵. The failure of Phaedra and Deianira to heed such counsel led ultimately to their deaths. Similarly, Holonius introduced the "nutrix" at a pivotal moment in the *Catharina* (I.2). After learning of Maxentius' decree to enforce pagan sacrifices, Catherine calmly decided to persuade him to countermand the edict. Her nurse's fears were not assuaged despite Catherine's repeated assurances that her life and soul were not in peril. Shortly thereafter Catherine was imprisoned and executed. Just as the protagonists' disregard of the "nutrix" in Senecan plays precipitated the tragedy, so does Catherine's disinterest result in her death. In contrast to the Senecan configuration of the rational nurse and an emotional mistress, Holonius juxtaposed a rational Christian and a fearful "nutrix". The apparent imitation of the "nutrix" character reveals, upon closer inspection, an inversion of the pagan model.

Holonius did not limit the reformation of his model to the mechanical transformation of a minor character. A more significant variation appears when one compares Seneca's and Holonius' conceptions of Divine Justice. Seneca's popularity as a dramatist in the late sixteenth-century has often been attributed to the correspondences between Senecan and Christian notions of justice⁴⁶. The successful incorporation of the Furies and ghosts which introduce many Senecan plays into sixteenth-century religious dramas seemed to indicate a similar understanding of Nemesis. Both Seneca's and Holonius' tragedies do, in fact, demonstrate the evil consequences of pride, lust, jealousy and greed. Despite these resemblances, however, the passions which underlie Senecan tragedy are missing from Holonius' plays. Senecan heroes are trapped into an endless series of crimes: the cruel fate of the House of Atreus results in the tragedy in *Thyestes* and *Agamemnon*; Œdipus' crime has been preordained by the gods; Juno's hatred drives Hercules insane (*Hercules Furens*). Contributing to the chaos in Senecan drama is the unpredictability of "furor", the seething passion which man is unable to control. In contrast, Holonius' protagonists are

⁴⁵ See *Hippolytus*, 85-273 and *Hercules Oetaeus*, 233-452.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Raymond Lebègue, "Christianisme et libertinage chez les imitateurs de Sénèque en France", in Jacquot, p. 89.

dominated by reason and the conviction that God always acts fairly. The punishment or conversion of the martyr's persecutors is quite different from the remorse which overtakes Jason (*Medea*) and Theseus (*Hippolytus*) as they fruitlessly attempt to atone for their crimes⁴⁷. Dodo and his henchmen are immediately punished by the plague⁴⁸ and violent deaths are predicted for emperors Decius and Maxentius⁴⁹. Whereas Senecan tragedy arises from the absence of Divine Justice, Holonius' tragedies reconfirm its existence.

Holonius' alteration of Senecan motifs is based on the fundamental assumption of Christianity's superiority to paganism. Many sixteenth-century playwrights had already consciously attempted to christianize the immoral plots of Roman comedy. But unlike these earlier dramatists, Holonius did not openly criticize the content of his model⁵⁰. Indeed,

⁴⁷ Both Jason and Theseus adopt a nihilistic attitude toward the world because of the horrors they have just witnessed. After learning about the death of his children, Jason laments to his vengeful wife: "Per alta vade spatia sublimi aethere;/testare nullos esse, qua veheris, deos", (*Medea*, 1026-1027). Similarly, Theseus complains to the cruel gods for allowing him to kill his son unknowingly: "... non movent divos preces;/at si rogarem scelera, quam proni forent" (*Hippolytus*, 1242-1243).

⁴⁸ *Lambertias*, V.1 and V.2.

⁴⁹ *Laurentias*, V.10; *Catharina*, chorus at the end of Act III.

⁵⁰ Both Hrotsvitha and Macropedius, for example, listed the objectionable characters of Roman comedy in the prologue to their works. Hrotsvitha spoke of the "turpia lascivarum" and "incesta feminarum" presented in the "Terentii figmenta". (*Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed. H. Homeyer (München, Paderborn, Wien, 1970), p. 233). Macropedius condemned the "amator virginum", "lento", and "scortum impudicum" in the *Hecastus* prologue (Bolte, p. 65). Cornelius Crocus and Hieronymous Ziegler attacked the Roman comedians directly. In the prologue to his 1535 Joseph drama, Crocus asserted:

Apporto namque, non Plauti aut Terentii,
Quas esse fictas nostis omnes fabulas.
Vanas, prophanas, ludicras ac lubricas:
Vèrum veram, sacramque porto, et seriam,
Castam, pudicam, sic ut ipsas virgines
Dictasse Musas, ac Minervam deieres:
Novamque iam scriptam recens comoediam,
Cui iure, cui ex re Ioseph nomen inditum.

(as quoted in *Dramata sacra: comoediae atque tragoediae aliquot e veteri testamento desumptae...* Basileae, 1547, vol. 1, p. 157). Similarly, Ziegler declared in his 1543 *Isaaci Immolatio*:

Audite Bibliae veterem historiam sacram,
Quam nos sumus nunc acturi planè novam.
Non est Terentii res ficta, aut Accii
Plauti, quibus servi currunt heris suis
Solliciti amicae de negotiis malae.

(*Dramata sacra* ... Basileae, 1547, vol. 1, p. 94).

he omits Seneca from his discussions about the contemporary value of classical literature. Instead, he limits his remarks to traditional arguments about the objectionable ethics of pagan works and calls for a general revision of classical theater.

Holonius' approach to pagan literature as outlined in his dedicatory prefaces bears many similarities to Erasmus' remarks on the same subject in the *Ciceronianus*. Although it may never be proven that Holonius intentionally adopted Erasmus' opinions, the resemblances between the two texts cast further light on Holonius' critical stance toward Senecan tragedy⁵¹. Holonius makes three observations on contemporary imitation of pagan models which were crucial to Erasmus' own criticism of the slavish followers of Cicero. First, Erasmus and Holonius held that sixteenth-century literature should be a product of its own age; they disapproved of present-day writers whose Latin was more pagan than Christian. Erasmus and Holonius attacked those authors who, despite their Christian faith, used pagan epithets when referring to God. In accordance with the principle of historical decorum, Erasmus and Holonius further asserted that if pagan authors were alive today, they would doubtless be Christians. This biased attitude toward ancient literature led them finally to conclude that the sole function of classical philology was to contribute to the education of a better Christian. Consequently, the goal of all contemporary writing which employed learning derived from pagan texts on phi-

Chilianus in his 1507 martyr play on St. Dorothea substituted the names of characters from classical drama for the authors themselves:

Phyllidis hic absint et Demophontis amores
Pollutusque Davus Pamphilus atque Cremes
Penelope nostra veniet celebranda palestra
Assit Hippolitus corda pudica colens.

(*Comoedia ... Dorotheae agoniam passionemque depingens* (Liptzck, 1507), Aiv^v).

⁵¹ There is, however, a direct connection between Erasmus and Holonius' uncle (also called Holonius, but whose Christian name is unknown). Holonius' uncle was allegedly responsible for the transmission of the *Colloquia* to the Basel printer, Froben. This resulted in the 1518 edition of the dialogues to which Erasmus objected, for he had not yet revised them for the press. Gregorius recalled the relationship between his uncle and Erasmus in the preface to *Laurentias* where he attributed his own love of learning to his relative: "Tum quòd ad hoc ipsum patruī nostri Holonii, cuius plerunque meminit Erasmus, memoria, fuerim puer excitatus, qui iuvenis admodum latinissimus, Graecè, Hebraiceque doctus, omnes tamen literas iam ad sancta studia coeperat convertere". (*Laurentias*, Aii^v-Aiii).

losophy, eloquence and poetry was to draw all Christians closer to God⁵².

The most important of these Erasmian notions was decorum. Holonius used it very effectively to defend his plays against possible censure by overzealous philologists. Holonius declared that if his plays should seem inferior to the works of Graeco-Roman dramatists, the fault lay not with himself, but with the exigencies of his era. Latin drama was no longer performed for large audiences to the accompaniment of music and dance; it was, rather, a pedagogical exercise for Christian youths⁵³. Mindful of the distance between antiquity and the sixteenth century, Holonius further argued against the content of pagan theater. Although his tragedies may lack the refinement of classical Latin style, they were more pious and consequently more praiseworthy than the Roman works. Instead of adultery, tyranny and lust, Holonius presented the charity, fortitude and constancy of a Christian martyr⁵⁴. Still another objection to Roman drama was

⁵² Compare Erasmus and Holonius on the following topics:

1) pagan authors would be sixteenth-century Christians.

Erasmus: "Dicendi artifex optimus (Cicero) atque etiam, ut inter ethnicos, vir bonus, quem arbitror, si Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in eorum numero censendum fuisse qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam pro divis honorantur". (*Dialogus cui Titulus Ciceronianus sive de optimo dicendi genere*, ed. T. Payr (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 346 = *Opera Omnia D. Erasmi*, I 2 (Amsterdam, 1971), p. 707, ll. 26-29).

Holonius: "Neque verò Terentius vel Plautus si nunc Christiani viverent, sic loquerentur ut olim scripserunt". (*Lambertias*, Avi).

2) the use of pagan epithets.

Erasmus: "Ipse M. Tullius, si viveret hoc rerum statu, Dei patris nomen non iudicaret minus elegans quam Iovis..." (*Ciceronianus*, p. 164 = O.O., I 2, p. 644 ll. 9-10).

Holonius: "Proinde nec eas huc intextui formulas, quas proprias Ethnicorum fuisse putavi, uti Deos à Christiana persona pro Deo... Serviendum ergo putavi huius temporis et religionis decoro..." (*Lambertias*, Avv-Avi).

3) literature is valuable insofar as it contributes to a Christian's education.

Erasmus: "Huc discuntur disciplinae, huc philosophia, huc eloquentia, ut Christum intelligamus, ut Christi gloriam celebremus. Hic est totius eruditionis et eloquentiae scopus". (*Ciceronianus*, pp. 352, 354 = O.O., I 2, p. 709 ll. 25-27).

Holonius: "ad meliora spero emovebunt (tragoediae), quàm pleraque lascivae vetustatis poemata. In huiusmodi studio vel ideo libenter versor, quòd in primis mihi persuadeam, omnes Christiani hominis literas ad Domini Dei laudem esse convertendas". (*Laurentias*, Aiii).

⁵³ "Quum itaque omnia nobis mutata sint, et isthaec Tragoediarum exhibitio non amplius delectandis Principibus, aut populo, sed exercitiis dummodo relicta iuventutis". (*Lambertias*, Avii).

⁵⁴ "quum veteres illi Ioves suos adulteros, Tyrannos sanguinarios, adolescentum libidines producant, quibus auditorum animi inquinentur verius, quam instruantur: nos sanctorum Heroum pietatem, charitatem, fortitudinem commendamus..." (*Ibid.*, Aiii-Aiiii).

levelled against classical tragedians: “quinetiam inepti esset Poetae citra rationem maximos statim affectus excitare, priusquam digna motibus res obiecta foret”⁵⁵. Inspired by the recently reprinted *Christus Patiens* of Gregorius Nazianzenus⁵⁶, Holonius insisted that Christian piety replace Latin “elegantia” as the primary criterion for evaluating contemporary works.

In cataloguing the unfavorable content of Roman tragedy, Holonius did not mention any specific authors. There can be little doubt, however, that Seneca himself penned these “immoral” works. Adultery, tyranny and lust were common themes in Senecan drama. Indeed, all three vices were present in the *Octavia* to which Holonius referred in another regard as a formal precedent for the *Lambertias*. The reasons for this reluctance to criticize Seneca directly arose from Holonius’ concern with the novelty of martyr drama. Seneca provided Holonius with classical prototypes for domestic tragedy (*Lambertias*) and for the tragedy with a happy ending (*Laurentias* and *Catharina*). Despite his eagerness to reform the immorality of Graeco-Roman theater, Holonius adhered to these formal models in order to legitimize his new religious topic as an appropriate subject for humanist tragedy.

Holonius paradoxically required the Senecan precedent for his new tragedies while at the same time desiring to revise its content. The reformers of Terentian comedy had not been troubled by such a necessity. The authors of these numerous “tragoediae/comoediae novae” simply substituted biblical stories for the objectionable Terentian material regardless of the generic problems such an alteration might have caused. Their tragic and comic designations were usually applied in accordance with the rules established by the post-classical grammarians, Aelius Donatus and Evanthius. Because of his choice of subject, however, Holonius was compelled to amend the grammarians’ definition of tragedy not only for the martyr plays but also for his Senecan models.

The essays of Aelius Donatus and Evanthius on comedy and tragedy had been reprinted in the numerous Terence editions of the late fifteenth

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Aviv.

⁵⁶ Holonius most likely knew Franciscus Fabricius’ 1550 Latin translation of the ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΑΣΧΩΝ: *Divi Gregorii Nazianzeni Theologi, Tragoedia Christus patiens, latino carmine reddita per Franciscum Fabricium Ruremundanum, medicum Aquisgranicum* (Antverpiae in aedibus Ioannis Steelsii, M.D.L.).

and early sixteenth century⁵⁷. Their definitions were undoubtedly familiar to a scholar such as Holonius, who, in his *Laurentias* preface boasted about his knowledge of classical literature⁵⁸. Donatus described tragedy in the following manner: "in tragoedia, omnia contraria, ingentes personae, magni timores, exitus funesti habentur"⁵⁹. His remarks generally influenced the late fifteenth-century commentators on Seneca, Gellius Bernardinus, Daniel Gaietanus and Benedictus Philologus, whose opinions appeared in the 1514 Paris edition of Seneca's tragedies (Badius). Bernardinus and Philologus followed Donatus' requirement that all tragedies end sorrowfully; Gaietanus, however, did not include the "exitus tristis" in his definition⁶⁰. This omission most likely inspired Holonius' own "lex tragoediae". After dismissing the obligatory tragic ending on the basis of the *Hercules Oetaeus*, Holonius added: "nam sufficit ad eius (tragoediae) materiem motus esse acerbos et fortunas magnorum Principum periclitari"⁶¹. Harsh emotions and the endangerment of the hero were now the primary criteria for tragic composition. By shifting the emphasis from the bloody "exitus" to the hero's trial (be it Hercules' agony or a martyr's "passio"), Holonius reinterpreted classical tragedy for a Christian era.

Holonius' guarded approach to classical literature was not limited to dedicatory prefaces alone. In the *Laurentias* and *Catharina*, Holonius' objections to antique theater were echoed by the martyrs themselves during the disputations with their persecutors. The similarities between the martyrs' "certamen" and Holonius' attitude toward paganism is particularly evident on two occasions. Holonius believed that Christian

⁵⁷ See O. Francke, *passim*.

⁵⁸ *Laurentias*, Aii^v-Aiii.

⁵⁹ Paulus Wessner, ed., *Aeli Donati Commentum Terenti*, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 21.

⁶⁰ *L. Annei Senecae Tragoediae pristinae integritati restituae per exactissimi iudicii viros ... explanate diligentissime tribus commentariis G. Bernardino Marmita Parmensi, Daniele Gaetano Cremonensi, Iodoco Badio Ascensio* ([Paris], 1514). Badius printed Benedictus Philologus' remarks on tragedy after the dedicatory note of Badius and the essays of Bernardinus and Gaietanus. Bernardinus' definition was brief: "(genus tragoediae) est enim grande et plenum in quo heroes, duces et reges habent: et in hoc differt comoedia in qua anxii amores et virginum raptus: sed iucundi exitus. In tragoedia semper tristes" (Aa iv^v). Philologus simply paraphrased Donatus: "in tragoedia timores magni exprimuntur... in tragoedia tristes exitus et funesti habentur" (Aa vi). Gaietanus, however, focused on the content and form rather than the ending: "tragici poematis subiectum et materia dolor: lachrymae odium: insanæ caedes, propterea iambica rabie fervescit carmen tragicum ..." (Aa v^v).

⁶¹ *Catharina*, Aii^v.

historical subjects surpassed the false and fictive plots of pagan drama⁶². Indeed, the very usefulness of Holonius' plays as didactic texts was based on the author's conviction that his works were historically true. Sts. Laurence and Catherine voiced similar objections about the pagan gods. The future martyrs refused to worship idols, for they too were "falsa" and "ficta"⁶³. Man should place his faith rather in the one true God who guarantees every Christian eternal life after death. Just as the martyrs proclaimed God's supremacy over the false pagan deities, so did Holonius declare the superiority of Christian history to fiction.

There is still another correspondance between Holonius' criticism of Graeco-Roman literature and the martyr's struggle against his oppressors. Holonius disapproved of pagan tragedy because its immoral content aroused the emotions of the audience "citra rationem"⁶⁴. For this reason, Holonius condemned the adultery, tyranny and lust represented in Roman drama. All three of Holonius' martyrs were in turn persecuted by men who were dominated by these same vices. Pippin, Dodo, Decius and Maxentius were driven by unrestrained emotions to ignore the advice of the saints. Holonius' pious critique of the irrationality of classical literature was consequently reflected in the martyrs sober arguments against their enemies. The saints' confrontation with their godless opponents and their victory over them through death, mirrored Holonius' successful revision of the objectionable content of his Senecan model.

⁶² "Nos sanctorum Heroum pietatem, charitatem, fortitudinem commendamus, ut eorum exempla, *nec ficta, nec falsa* excitent Christianum lectorem ad ardorem rerum coelestium" (my italics), *Lambertias*, Aiii^v-Aiiii.

⁶³ See, for example, Laurence's condemnation of Mars when Decius forces him to sacrifice to the god. Laurence tells the emperor: "Erras cruenta, si meam caedem putas/Placere Marti fictilis ligni deo", (*Laurentias*, Dviii).

Catherine of Alexandria not only objects to the false, man-made gods:

Nullum deorum numen esse in fictili
Nec magis in auro muscido, quàm stipite
Dignum supremo qui Deus colitur locum. (*Catharina*, Cii^v),

but also to the false myths which men narrate about them. When the philosopher Daemonicus admits that the myths are fiction, Catherine retorts:

Has cùm fateris esse tantùm fabulas,
Cur veritatis invidus tales colis?
Quin voce falsos libera infamas deos?
Aut dicta falsò probra confutas palàm? (*Catharina*, Ciii)

⁶⁴ *Lambertias*, Avⁱ.

Holonius' introduction of the martyr to Christian humanist theater had, therefore, a three-fold purpose. First, Holonius hoped to establish the martyrs as ideals for his schoolboy audience. Contemporary youths were encouraged to emulate the virtues of Christian heroes in order to defend the Church from the encroachment of Protestantism. Secondly, Holonius' choice of martyr was likewise determined by the needs of the Counter-Reformation. St. Lambert warned viewers against the perils of concubinage, St. Laurence demonstrated the proper use of Church wealth, and St. Catherine exhibited the advantages of a thorough Christian education. These lessons were crucially important to Catholics in Liège, for Protestant successes there had been due to the abuse of these practices. Thirdly, the martyr's encounter with his persecutors was a poetic reflection of Holonius' criticism of Graeco-Roman theater. The refusal of the martyr to yield to the wishes of his enemies corresponded to Holonius' disapproval of fictive pagan literature and its immoral content. The martyr's victory over his opponents thus became a metaphor for Holonius' christianization of Senecan tragedy.

III

Holonius' dramas were by no means isolated examples of Renaissance Neo-Latin religious theater. On the contrary, his tragedies became models for sixteenth-century German Jesuit dramatists who were equally bent on establishing the martyr as a Counter-Reformation hero. The German Jesuits were dedicated to the reconquest of lands lost to the Protestants in the early sixteenth-century. Jesuit preachers such as Peter Canisius were primarily interested in the correction of clerical abuses and the education of the populace in Catholic doctrine⁶⁵. For this reason, sixteenth-century Jesuit dramatists were particularly attracted to St. Catherine of Alexandria, whose erudite defense of Christianity was considered an instructive example for schoolboys frequenting Jesuit colleges. It is not surprising, then, that Holonius' artfully constructed Catherine tragedy later influenced neo-classical Jesuit dramatizations of the legend.

Although each of Holonius' tragedies was printed separately, they were customarily bound together. The Jesuit college at Trier had a copy

⁶⁵ For a detailed account of Canisius' campaign against Protestantism, see the biography by James Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius, S.J.* (London, 1935).

of all three works while the Jesuit college in Munich possessed the *Laurentias* and *Catharina*. Because of its local historical significance, the *Lambertias* did not attain the popularity of the other plays. But in the 1570's and 1580's, South German Jesuits presented an unaltered version of the *Laurentias* (1576) and two variants of the *Catharina* (1576 and 1581)⁶⁶. As was usually the case for sixteenth-century Jesuit dramas, none of the three anonymous playwrights acknowledged the contemporary inspiration for his work. According to a school rector's diary, the 1581 Catherine drama was composed by a certain Fleming, Johannes Sonhovius, as an entertainment during an official visit in Innsbruck between Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, Archduke Charles of Styria and Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria⁶⁷. These men provided the financial support for the Jesuit colleges in their principalities, and were no doubt delighted by the martyr's learned exposition of Catholic dogma. The authorship of the 1576 Laurence and Catherine plays has, however, never been resolved.

I would like to suggest that Johannes Holonius (1542?-1622), a relative of Gregorius Holonius and a Jesuit active in the South German schools, was responsible for these plays⁶⁸. Johannes' birthplace has been disputed, but most biographers agree that he was educated originally in the bishopric of Liège in the 1540's. He entered the Jesuit order at Cologne at an unusually young age, but probably

⁶⁶ The St. Laurence play may have been performed in Dillingen in 1576. See Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang bis zum Hochbarock*, vol. 2 (Augsburg, 1930), p. 47. The undated manuscript is found in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 2202, fol. 1-64. Both the 1576 *Catharina* (performed in Munich) and the 1581 play are also located in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: 1576 (clm. 603); 1581 (clm. 583). On these Catherine dramas see Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande (1554-1680)*, vol. 1 (Bern, Frankfurt, Las Vegas, 1978), pp. 412-416. I disagree with Valentin's dating of the Innsbruck play at 1577. Karl von Reinhardstöttner suggested 1581, a more likely date since the prologue specifically addressed Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria who ruled from 1579-1598. See Karl v. Reinhardstöttner, "Zur Geschichte des Jesuitendramas in München", *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*, 3 (1889), 77. Valentin noted textual similarities between the 1576 and 1581 plays but did not discover their relationship to the *Catharina* of Holonius. Finally, a new printed edition of the *Laurentias* appeared at Strasburg in 1584. See *Bibliotheca Belgica* (cf. note 5), p. 488.

⁶⁷ Sonhovius had written a prose version in the late 1570's which is now lost; only a verse drama remains. See Valentin, p. 414.

⁶⁸ On Johannes Holonius see Johannes Franciscus Foppens, *Bibliotheca belgica*, pars 2 (Bruxellis, 1739), p. 661; Christian G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1750); H. Helbig, pp. 208-209; C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 4 (Bruxelles and Paris, 1893), col. 434-435.

no later than the mid-1550's. He was subsequently engaged as a teacher of rhetoric at the Jesuit college in Ingolstadt; other records indicate that he taught in Munich as well⁶⁹. Since Jesuit instructors in grammar and rhetoric were frequently charged with the composition of school dramas, it is not unlikely that Johannes could have written a few plays. In order to complete this task, Johannes may have turned to Holonius' tragedies in the hope that he could recapture the popularity they had enjoyed when performed in Liège.

The author of the 1576 Laurence and Catherine dramas must have been the same person, for both works correspond more closely to Holonius' tragedies than the 1581 Catherine play does. Indeed, the 1581 playwright may have been inspired not so much by Holonius, but by the 1576 Holonian Catherine drama. The 1576 writer's greater familiarity with Holonius' works is demonstrated by both his verbatim transcription of the *Laurentias* and by the Senecan echoes in his Catherine play. The Jesuit writer is indebted to the *Catharina* for the characterization of Maxentius, Catherine's arguments against paganism, the use of secondary Senecan characters (e.g. "nutrix"), and, most significantly, for the remarks on tragedy contained in the preface. The Senecan influence is, in fact, stronger than in the *Catharina*, for the Jesuit playwright introduced Senecan motifs which were missing in Holonius. The Jesuit writer is, for example, especially attracted to ghosts and other representations of the Furies. Maxentius' father, Maximianus, opens the Jesuit play by appearing as a hellish spirit at the instigation of the Fury, Megaera, in order to drive his son on against the Christians⁷⁰. Later, the allegorical figures, Cupido and Gloria Mundi, are summoned by Furor, a variation on Megaera, to fan Maxentius' hatred for the Christians⁷¹. The adaptation and elaboration of these motifs not only indicates the Jesuit dramatist's thorough knowledge of Holonius' play, but also his recognition of Holonius' attempt to christianize Senecan tragedy.

In addition to the verbal and thematic reminiscences of his model, the Jesuit writer imitated Holonius' revision of the post-classical

⁶⁹ Holonius had been teaching at Munich before he was appointed at Ingolstadt in the summer of 1576; he remained there until 1588. See Karl von Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut, München*, vol. 1 (München, 1872), p. 259 and p. 338, n. 448.

⁷⁰ clm. 603, fol. 3-3v.

⁷¹ Ibid., fol. 13v-14v.

grammarians' definition of tragedy. The preface to the 1576 Catherine play is one of the earliest examples of Jesuit efforts to come to terms with poetological problems. The initial Jesuit poetics in Germany, Jacobus Pontanus' *Poeticarum Institutionum libri III* was not published until 1594⁷², and martyrs were not discussed as dramatic subjects until the appearance in 1631 of the *Ars Poetica*, a handbook by the Italian Jesuit, Alexander Donatus⁷³. Assuming Holonius' apologetical stance toward his subject, the Jesuit asserts:

cur appellaverim tragoediam quibusdam fortè displicet, cum finis tam ratione Ecclesiae, quam ratione Martyris sit utique laetissimus. Verum ubi catenae, verbera, caedes, ibi sensus hominum tristitia secum concipit. Ut ergo serviatur mortalium iudicio, ad luctum dirigemus prope omnia, et praeferemus spectatorum lacrimas applausui, cachinnis, risibus⁷⁴.

The emphasis on these bloody aspects of martyrdom recalls Holonius' own reference to the "acerbos motus" which such tortures arouse⁷⁵. With equal confidence, the Jesuit writer directs the audience's attention away from the controversial happy end and towards the tragic events preceding Catherine's death.

Holonius had written his plays in order to inspire the Liégeois to defend the Church and correct its weaknesses. The growth of Protestantism in the bishopric required the immediate implementation of counter-measures, lest the new religion undermine the prince-bishop's spiritual and temporal power. The 1576 Catherine dramatist was likewise conscious of the need for effective and speedy policies against the Protestants. He, in fact, considered the present era so precarious that only tragedy could describe it: "Tragoediam suadet temporum conditio, sive urbis Monacensis in squalore positae, sive orbis universi statum deplorandum quis consideret"⁷⁶. The rise of martyr drama in the second half of the sixteenth century must be regarded, then, within the context of that period. The Jesuits' imitation of Holonius as well as their introduction to the stage of other early church martyrs such as Sts. Cassian, Cecilia and Eustachius resulted from their search for

⁷² Jacob Pontanus, *Poeticarum Institutionum libri III* (Ingolstadii, 1594).

⁷³ Alexander Donatus, *Ars Poetica sive Institutionum artis poeticae libri tres* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1633; first published in Rome, 1631), II.9, pp. 116-122.

⁷⁴ clm. 603, fol. 2.

⁷⁵ *Catharina*, Aii^v.

⁷⁶ clm. 603, fol2^v.

models for contemporary heroes⁷⁷. Since the martyr could be used as both an example of forbearance and a herald of reform, his theatrical popularity was most likely due to the concerns of an age dominated by persecution and religious upheaval.

Princeton University
Dept. of Germanic Lang. and Lit.

⁷⁷ Performances of late sixteenth-century Jesuit plays on Sts. Cassian, Cecilia and Eustachius have been recorded. See J. Müller, II, 101 and 107.

A. M. M. DEKKER

DIX ODES LATINES INCONNUES DE JEAN DORAT

Dans sa thèse¹ Geneviève Demerson a rassemblé, édité, traduit et annoté les odes latines de Jean Dorat. Autant Dorat se souciait peu d'éditer son œuvre poétique, autant M^{me} Demerson s'est-elle acquittée consciencieusement de sa tâche. L'édition qu'elle nous offre est sans aucun doute, pour la littérature néo-latine, une des plus importantes publications de ces dernières années.

Ainsi que Demerson l'a déjà fait remarquer, Dorat a dû écrire bien d'autres odes latines que les quelque quarante qu'elle a pu rassembler pour son édition : dans les addenda (pp. 388-399) elle nous donne encore deux odes (n° XXIbis et n° XXIVbis), tandis qu'à la page 387 elle mentionne une troisième ode qu'il ne lui était plus possible d'insérer. Prenant le relais, je voudrais attirer l'attention sur un recueil de poèmes de Dorat transcrit par Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641). Il s'agit du manuscrit 837 de la bibliothèque de l'Université d'Utrecht. De ce recueil je ne donne ici que les seules *odes* dans l'ordre suivi par le manuscrit. Malheureusement, pour plusieurs de ces odes, Buchelius se contente de n'en citer que l'incipit.

UB Utrecht, ms. 837 (*Poemata errantia variorum, de quibus dubitatur an aedita, manu Arn. Buchelii*).

« EX POEMATIIIS JO: AURATI »

1. fol. 2^v-4^r

In Gelonin Macrini

= Ode VII (Demerson).

Buchelius cite les vers 1-156 (l'ode en compte 252).

Variae lectiones (D = édition Demerson; U = ms. Utrecht): 6 *om. U*; 29 *eheu D*:

¹ Jean Dorat, *Les Odes latines*. Texte présenté, établi, traduit, annoté par Geneviève Demerson (Clermont-Ferrand 1979). Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, Nouvelle Série, Fascicule 5.

heu *U*; 46 amandos *D*: amando *U*; 47 Gelonidis-*D*: Cretonidis *U*; 75 coniugi *D*: coniuge *U*; 77 poëticolarum *D*: poeticularum *U*; 96 iucunda *D*: iucunde *U*; 106 uere *D*: verae *U*; 113 piaë *D*: pie *U*; 132 Geloni *D*: Cretoni *U*; 142 honos *D*: honor *U*; 147 carentum *D*: carentium *U*; 154 orichalcon *D*: orichalcum > orichalcon *U*.

Après le vers 156 Buchelius interrompt le texte par «etc.».

Au fol. 4^r il ajoute une note importante: «Ex libro MS. quem A. Schottus dono misit Petro Scriverio. sed quae sequuntur scripta erant manu Guil. Canteri qui Aurati in Graeco auditor olim; cuius frater Theod. Canterus Schotto donavit Antv. a^o 1616. patria a suis pulsus».

Le manuscrit dont Buchelius a copié les poèmes, a donc été successivement en la possession de Guilielmus Canterus (1542-1575), Theodorus Canterus (1545-1616), Andreas Schottus (1552-1629), et Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660). Voir à ce propos P. de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1921), p. 212, où on lit :

«... les frères Canter, bons philologues hollandais qui ont vécu à Paris, ont eu Dorat pour professeur au Collège royal et recueilli avec piété ses poèmes comme ses corrections de textes anciens; l'aîné, Guillaume, en a même fait un petit recueil qu'on se passait de mains en mains³ ...»

et dans la note :

³ Le fait est attesté par une lettre d'André Schott, envoyée d'Anvers à Leyde, le 27 mai 1619, où Peter Scriverius est remercié d'un de ses ouvrages : «... Ego vero nescio quod ἀντίδωρον reponam, nisi forte, quia et in poetica excellis, et Simonidae Lyrica eidem poetae comitem muneri misisti, ad te allegem Pindarico stylo Ioan. Aurati poetae Regii quaedam, quae a Canteris fratribus, dum viuerent, suntque Gulielmi manu pleraque descripta, accepi, et quaedam typis nondum esse euulgata obseruavi. Habes itaque poeta poeticum munusculum exiguum, at magni pignus amoris habes; quando nihil nunc quidem suppetit quod rependam» (Burmman, *Sylloges epist.*, t. II, p. 378). Qu'est devenu ce recueil, où Schott notait de l'inédit?

Au fol. 10^v se trouve encore une épigramme de Dorat se rapportant à l'ode *In Gelonin Macrini* :

De oda, quam in Gelonidem scripserat, amissa

Cum gemit Auratus tumulata Gelonidis ossa
 Pectine Pindarico Pindaricisque modis,
 Nec sua post annum lugubria repperit usquam
 Carmina de tumulis facta Gelonidicis,
 5 Se miserum dixit, cui non iam coniugis orbi,
 Sed potius vatis damna canenda forent.

(Voir également Demerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-287; 292-294).

2. fol. 4^v

Ad gravissimum Senatorem Henr. Memmium Genethliacon Io. Aurati
= Ode XXIII (Demerson).

Buchelius cite les vers 1-12 (l'ode en compte 68).

Variae lectiones: *tit. grauissimum Senatorem U: om. D; 3 Baccatur D: Bacchatur U.*

Après le vers 12 Buchelius interrompt le texte par «etc.».

Dans la marge: «fol. 16» et «misit Gevartius ut non excusum». Celui-ci est sans aucun doute l'humaniste anversois Janus Casperius Gevaerts (1593-1666).

3. fol. 5^r

Ad Card(inalem) Lotaring(um), ut suppeditet carminis materiem

Scribat Paschalius perpetuas tibi
Solers historias, Carole, et ordine
Longo dicat opus, Rege quod auspice
Miles fratre geret duce etc.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson. L'ode est adressée à Charles de Guise, cardinal de Lorraine (1524-1574).

Après la première strophe Buchelius interrompt le texte.

Dans la marge: «fol. 23».

4. fol. 5^r-6^r

Ad regem, de nuper pacificata Scotia

Arx Letha, fauces quae maris obsidet,
Verum ipsa bellis nuper atrocibus
Obsessa, cum vim Scotûm et Anglûm
Bis duo mille tulere Galli:

- 5 Turbare pacis sydera publicae
 Commissa nuper non dubitaverat,
 Tam parva tantae vix ruinae
 Invidiaeque capax futura.

Sed parva non est causa novantibus

- 10 Binis in unam proelia gentibus
 Citra-marinam transmarinis,
 His sua iura, sua ira at illis.

Ach Letha, quam tu pene tuum modo
Lethale nomen multiplici virûm

- 15 Letho probasti, quos propinquis
 Volveret Oceanus sub undis,

 Parcente trinis ni populis Deo,
 Dirum secundus falleret exitus
 Nomenque et omen, pace rursus
 20 Inter eos coeunte firma.

 Mutata quondam nomina tristia
 Si civitatis sunt Epidamniae
 Damna ominantis: Letha laeta
 Auspice iam incipiat vocari,

 25 Francisce Rex, te! Tu pater ut prius,
 Laetum triumphum militibus tuis
 Scotisque salvis de Britannis
 Sed sine caede iterum parasti.

 Haec prima Regi parta novo tibi
 30 Sed pura palma, ut pura tua exigit
 Aetas: decorum sic domare
 Innocuo iuveni nocentes.

 Quantum pigebat cernere te tuos
 Gallos, colonos atque tuae insulae
 35 Dotalis, in civile pene
 Turpiter arma movere bellum:

 Tantum iuvat te nunc, simul et tuam
 Uxorem amicam, Nuntius attulit
 Qui subditas utrique, sese,
 40 Ut dominos, ita amare gentes.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

N.B. Au fol. 46^v Buchelius cite de nouveau la première strophe de cette ode. Dans la marge: «10 cop(ulae)». Voir n° 15.

L'ode est adressée à François II, roi de France du 10 juillet 1559 au 5 décembre 1560. Il avait marié Mary Stuart en avril 1558. Letha est Leith en Écosse.

Variae lectiones: *tit. nuper om. U (fol. 46^v); 3 Scotum et Anglum conieci: Scotae et Anglae U (fol. 5^r): Scotam et Anglam U (fol. 46^v); 13 Ach interiectio invenitur in: Synonymia Latino-Teutonica (ex etymologico C. Kiliani deprompta), ed. E. Spanoghe, Tom. I, Antverpiae 1889, p. 12. Fortasse legendum est Arx Letha (cf. vs. 1); 29 tibi correxi: tibi(ue) U.*

5. fol. 6^{r-v}

Ad Brynonem de fuga Amoris

Cur locum mutas sine fine, Bryno?
Cur fugit frustra nimium sequacem
Aegra mens morbum? fuga nulla Amoris,
Nulla latebra est.

5 Ceu petes Indos fugitivus, Indos
Mox tuus tecum petet et Cupido:
Ceu petes diversa, petet Cupido
Rursus et illa.

Nam quod huc velox modo, inde et illuc
10 Ferris, aut rus dulce petens ab urbe,
Rursus aut urbem repetens, ubi te
Taedia ruris

Lenta ceperunt, quod identidem, inquam,
Innocens falso hospitium locumque
15 Criminans migras: nihil hac levas tu
Parte dolorem.

Fallitur si quis faculam putat se
Posse flagrantem quatiendo et usque
Ventilando extinguere: fax Amoris,
20 Quam quatis et tu,

In dies atque magis atque in horas:
Parcius si vis solito dolere
Parcius fac et solito movere
Ulcera pergas.

25 Hic potes, si vis, melius salubri
In libros mecum recreatione
Acquiescens, tollere vota, si non
Semina morbi,

At bonam certe relevare partem.
30 Phoebus est auctor medicae salutis!
Arte phoebaea fidibus lyraque
Pectora sana.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

Jean de Brinon, conseiller au Parlement de Paris, est né vers 1515 et mort en mars 1555.

6. fol. 6^v

Ad Michael(em) Hospitalem Supplicum libell(orum) magistrum

Pulsate dudum devia limina,
 Pulsate, Musae: quis metus ostia
 Non vasta quamvis inde longo
 Tempore nunc iterum ferire?

5 Nescitis illis quam pius aedibus
 Quamque hospitalis sit dominus? unde
 Nomen vel ipsum vos docere
 Iam poterat, titulusque chartae.

Nam ne putetis nominis hoc viro
 10 Frustra tributum, nil magis obvium
 Illo, nil magis est apertum
 Dulcibus alloquiis sororum.
 etc.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

Après la troisième strophe Buchelius interrompt le texte.

Ode adressée à Michel de l'Hospital (1507-1573), chancelier de Catherine de Médicis et poète.

7. fol. 7^r-8^r

Ad Augustodunum etc.

Augusta tellus et simul oppidum
 Augustum et ingens nomine sed viris
 Ingentius, quos tot creasti
 Artibus ingeniisque claros.

5 Tu Galliarum pene potissima
 Pars dicta quondam, tu populis potens
 Armisque, rerum Gallicarum
 Credita tu caput esse summum.

Sed nil perenni robore dat Deus
 10 Inesse terris: perque suas vices

Humana nunc tolluntur astris,
Nunc subita trepidant ruina.

Troes fuerunt et fuit Ilium
Ingens: favillis crevit ab Ilii

15 Superba Roma, mox et ipsa
Nil nisi grande futura bustum,

Bustive grandis relliquiae putres:
Namque et senectus urbibus est sua
Et gentibus; nec tu vetustas
20 Semper eris habitura vires

Augustodunum: quanta tamen fuit
Olim tuarum nobilitas opum,
Testantur ipsae nunc ruinae
Ambitus et vetus illi muri.

25 Sed mille maestas iam querimonias
Iam mitte, Clio: nunc quoque maxima
Et digna tanti restat umbra
Nominis urbs, veterique fama.

Latam vetustae falcx licet amputet
30 Silvam cupressi, multa manet tamen
Sospes prioris pars odoris
In reliquo mutiloque trunco.

Et nunc in urbis stat veteris solo
Antiqua gentis plurima gloria,
35 Seu quis requirat firma pubis
Robora, seu pietatem et artes.

Sed quid Camoenae cum lituis, quid est
Cum bellicosae gentis et asperis
Pugnis? inermes nunc sat artes
40 Arte mei celebrare plectri.

Vevraee dulcis, te decus artium
Ingens bonarum, mens tibi callida
Non unius linguae, nec unam
Discere sedula disciplinam.

45 Graecas, Hebraeas et Latias simul

Tu res amasti, tu sacra litteris
 Miscere, qua fas est prophanis
 Me socio solitusque teste.

Ob quae tuorum candida civium
 50 Doctis fovendis pectora et te vocant
 Ad patriae frenos iuventae
 Magnifici pariterque templi

Amplos honores iusque sodalium
 Templo sedendum principe; qui tibi
 55 De patria multum merenti
 Venit honor, patriisque Musis.

O grata civi civica caritas
 Quae digna doctis munera des viris
 Multis petitum frustra horrorem
 60 Detulit ipsa libenter uni.

Iam iam Camoenae fidere vos decet
 Rebus secundis, tollere spiritus,
 Iam digna vestro sunt labori
 Praemia docticolas per urbes.

65 Ob quae remotis te tua finibus
 Non immerentem propria civitas
 Vevraee nuper devocavit
 Ut meritos ineas honores.

Virtutis unis quos licet artibus
 70 Augustoduni, nec petere ambitu
 Foedo: decoris tanta rebus
 Laus et honos apud hasce gentes.

Variante de l'Ode IX (Demerson).

Variae lectiones: 23 ipsae *correx*i: ipse *U*; inde *U*: nunc *U* in *margin*e; 30 manet *correx*i: manent *U*; 41 Vevraee *correx*i: Venraee *U*; 57 qui *U*: cui *U* in *margin*e.

Les nombreuses différences entre ce texte et l'Ode IX (Demerson) ne sont pas indiquées ici.

8. fol. 8^r-9^r

In illustriss(imam) et doctissimam principem Margaretam Regis sororem

Quam nunc dearum, quam potius canam

Nunc faeminarum? Pallada nunc canam

Divam, decus summum Dearum

Virgineique decus pudoris,

5 Te faeminarum Pallada, Margari.

Tu semper a me proxima Palladi

Cantaberis: tu semper illi

Proxima diva mihi coleris.

Pallas cerebro de Iovis editam

10 Se gloriatur: De cerebro patris

Tu nata docti, more summi

Qui Iovis aurea sceptrum ferret.

Pallas paternae pectus in Aegidis

Thorace claudit, pectoris est tibi

15 Robur paterni, visque constans

Qua vitiis animosa pugnas.

Pallas virago scuta viriliter

Et tractat hastas: tu quoque pro colu

Lanaeque non libros et artes

20 Tangere virgo times viriles.

Pallas virenti semper et indice

Pacis revinctas semper habet comas

Frontemque oliva: tu perenni

Flore vires et amas quietem.

25 Pallas tot urbes tot populos sibi

Quamvis tributos a patre cerneret,

Unas tamen doctas Athenas

Ante alias adamavit urbes:

Tu cum tot urbes tot populos tibi

30 Olim relictos a patre cerneres

Fratris cohaeres, ante cunctos

Bituriges et amas et ornas.

Ornas severae iustitiae gravi

Doctore multo: legibus artibus

35 Ornas bonis, et moribus quos

Esse tuis similes laboras.

Ut Pallas ergo dicitur Attica,
 Diceris et tu nunc mihi Gallica
 Pallas, sacrae laus castitatis
 40 Utraque et utraque laus Sophiae.

Tu Pallas ergo Gallica respice
 Me nunc Ulyssem naufragum tuum,
 Qui nudus emersus profundis
 Fluctibus et agitantis aulae.

45 Vestire sed tu me bene coeperas
 Olim et beandum munere parvulo
 Grato tamen curaveras, ni
 Improba lis prohiberet uti.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson. Ode adressée à Marguerite de Valois-Angoulême († 21 XII 1549).

Varia lectio: 2 Pallada *correx*i: Pallida U.

9. fol. 9^r

*Ad Gravissimum et Eloquentiss(imum) Regis oratorem Jo: Monlucum
 Valentiae Ep(iscopu)m, De pace nuper cum Scotis refecta*

Absente quamvis sollicitos timor
 Ac cura de te nos habuit tibi
 Monluci amicos, dum tot inter
 Arma viam faceres, inermis,

5 Ut cum inter enses mille ratum senex
 Rex tutus ibat Mercurio duce
 Natum redempturus, supra annos etc.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

Après le vers 7 Buchelius interrompt le texte. L'ode est adressée à l'ambassadeur français Jean de Monluc, évêque de Valence (1508-1579).

— fol. 45^v

«Vidi quaedam ex autogr. ut autumo Aurati ap. Canter. Jun. quorum initia ut sequuntur»

10. fol. 45^v-46^r

In hymnos P. Ronsardi Sapphici. Ad Odetum Castilionensem Card.

In novos hymnos novus hymnus et mi

Psallitur forsan manus ut manu si
 Invidus dicat pede pes lavetur,
 Ipse sed in me etc.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

Après la première strophe Buchelius interrompt le texte.

Dans la marge: «sunt 17 copulae». Ode adressée à Odet de Coligny, le Cardinal de Châtillon (1517-1571).

11. fol. 46^r

Voir n° 16.

12. fol. 46^r

Voir n° 17.

13. fol. 46^r

Ad invictiss(imum) Galliae Regem Henr(icum) II, de horrenda tempestate Caeticam victoriam subsecuta

Magnos saepe mari turbinis impetus
 Interlunia dant, scilicet acrius
 Tum bacchantibus in finitimum mare
 Arctois Aquilonibus etc.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

Après la première strophe Buchelius interrompt le texte.

Dans la marge: «14 copulae». L'ode est de 1558 (prise de Calais).

14. fol. 46^r

Pindari Pythiorum ode I ad Hieron. Syracusium curru victorem

Aurea o testudo, Phoebo
 Pulchro, flavicomisque simul
 Pignus in commune datum etc.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

Traduction de la première ode pythique de Pindare.

Après le 3^e vers Buchelius interrompt le texte.

Varia lectio: 2 Pulchro *correx*i: Pulchri *U*.

15. fol. 46^v

Voir n° 4.

16. fol. 56^r

«Ex autographo»

*In literatissimam et litterarum amantissimam principem D. Margaretam
Regis sororem I. Auratus*

Strophe prima

- Quum naufragus iret Ulysses
Absque remo et remige,
Nudus expers, et cava
(Qua secabat vix prius alta) trabe
5 Nuper excussus: nec ultra
Quod sequeretur haberet
Consilii: sed eum licet dolosum
Iam doli fraudesque cunctae prodidissent:

Antistrophe

- Ne deficeret tamen inter
10 Saeva tot pericula
Strenui virtus viri:
Ilicet de gurgite caeruleo
Maior humana figura
Exstitit: inter et undas
15 Pube tenus media sublimis extans
Mollibus solata verbis est gementem.

Epode

Candida Leucothea
Dura nimis etc.

Ne se trouve pas dans Demerson.

N.B. Au fol. 46^r Buchelius cite les deux premiers vers de cette ode.
Voir n° 11.

Variae lectiones: *tit. litterarum U (fol. 46^r): litterarum U (fol. 56^r); 1 iret U (fol. 46^r):
ire U (fol. 56^r); Ulysses U (fol. 56^r): Ulisses U (fol. 46^r); 3 expers correxi: expes U.*

17. fol. 127^v-129^v

Ad doctissimam virginem Camillam Morellam

= Ode XXIV (Demerson), transcrite intégralement (104 vers) par
Buchelius.

N.B. Au fol. 46^r Buchelius cite la première strophe de cette ode.
Dans la marge: «26 cop(ulae) 4.». Voir n° 12.

Variae lectiones: 5 indolis D: indoles U; 6 artes D: arteis U; 19 uiriles D: virileis U;
23 illos D: ille U; 30 loca D: om. U; 35 uendicatque D: vindicatque U; 41 duas D:

dicas U; 55 *aures D*: *aureis U*; 56 *uti D*: *ut in U*; 59 *haec ut D*: *ut mea U*; 60 *Carta D*: *Charta U*; 61 *Qua D*: *Quo U*; 63 *mei D*: *meique U*; 65 *uult D*: *unde U*; 68 *artes D*: *arteis U*; 74 *Maior D*: *Magnus U*; 76 *aulae D*: *aula U*; 80 *dedit ipse D, U*: *dat habere U in margine*; 84 *Si tua candida D*: *Candida si tua U*; 93 *dum D*: *diem U*; 97 *Carolus D*: *tertius U*; 98 *illos D*: *ille U*; 103 *qua D*: *quae U*.

Mètres employés dans ces odes:

strophe asclépiade A: 3, 13

strophe sapphique: 5, 10

strophe alcaïque: 2, 4 (= 15), 6, 7, 8, 9, 17 (= 12)

strophe pindarique: 1, 14, 16 (= 11)

En relisant les textes que nous avons cités, nous constatons que Buchelius nous a transmis dix odes inconnues de Dorat. Il en cite trois intégralement (n° 4, 5 et 8), et des sept autres il ne donne qu'un texte incomplet (n° 3, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14 et 16). En outre, il donne le texte entier d'une variante d'une ode déjà connue; toutefois les deux versions présentent des différences tellement importantes qu'on peut les considérer comme deux poèmes distincts (n° 7).

Les notes de critique textuelle nous montrent que Buchelius n'a pas toujours transcrit exactement le texte qu'il avait sous la main. Malgré cela, il nous a laissé un recueil d'une très grande importance. Tant que les sources de Buchelius (copies de Guillaume Canter, élève de Dorat, et éventuellement des manuscrits autographes de Dorat) n'auront pas été retrouvées, ses copies resteront les seuls textes sur lesquels nous pouvons nous baser.

NL-3511 ZC Utrecht

Bijlhouwerstraat 2-bis

A. M. M. DEKKER

EIN UNBEKANNTES GEDICHT
AUS DEN *ACANTHAE* DES PAULUS MELISSUS

Eckart Schäfer hat in einem wichtigen Aufsatz¹ zum ersten Mal elf von ihm wiedergefundene Gedichte der verschollenen Sammlung *Acanthae* des Melissus veröffentlicht. Der *Acanthae*-Zyklus, das Lebenswerk des Dichters, soll bei seinem Tode sechsunddreissig (!) Bücher enthalten haben. Die wenigen Reste der *Acanthae* stammen aus den Jahren 1592-1600.

Eine bisher unbekannte Ode von 1591 an Theodorus Canter (1545-1616) befindet sich abschriftlich in der Universitätsbibliothek Utrecht. Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641) schrieb die Ode ab in der von ihm angelegten Sammlung »Poemata errantia variorum de quibus dubitatur an aedita« (UB Utrecht, Hs. 837, fol. 2^{r-v}). Als Nachtrag zu den von Schäfer veröffentlichten elf Gedichten folgt hier der Text der Ode von 1591, in der Melissus, wie öfter in den *Acanthae*, sein Dichtertum zum Gegenstand des Gedichts gewählt hat:

Ex Acanthis
Amanuensis scripsit.
ipse tit. addidit.
et subscripsit sua manu.

Carmen Melissi ad Th. Canterum

HONORE tanto si mea carmina,
Nil praeter hirtas commemorantia
Spinas ROSINAE, dura Francûm
Haud fuerit venerata tellus,

¹ E. Schäfer, »Die 'Dornen' des Paul Melissus«, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 22 (1973), 217-255. Weiter zu Melissus: E. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz. Conrad Celtis-Georg Fabricius-Paul Melissus-Jacob Balde* (Wiesbaden, 1976).

- 5 In quantum honorem Celtigenas apud
 Fuisse Bardos, hymniferum genus,
 Vatesque custodes sacrorum, et
 Philosophos Druidas loquuntur:

 At credo saltem mi Dryadum chorus,
 10 Quantumcunque lucos servat Oreadum, et
 Dulces Napaeae Naiadesque,
 Et reliquae mea cura Nymphae

 (Vt Aegypânas cum Satyrûm manu,
 Faunosque celeres, et Blemyas leves,
 15 Acresque Silvanos, et illos
 Capripedes sileam resimos)

 Inter poetas contribuent locum,
 Qui Phoebum amarunt et Clarias Deas,
 Artesque Cylleni et Minervae,
 20 Cyprigenam, Charitasque suaves.

 Dicar Deorum veprituentium
 Conviva. Dicar Semideûm veter
 Amicus, antistesque Honoris,
 Atque pudicitiae sacerdos,

 25 Famaeque vindex, ac fidei unicae
 Adsertor unus. Dicar amantium
 Exemplar haud vulgare; verum
 Ingenuo ex animo atque corde

 Sincero amantium. Fallor, an extimo
 30 Notescam Acanthis Americae solo
 Perûsque, quae prudenter Ophir
 Credita, Brasiliaeque terris?

 Certê trecentos quae fuerit dehinc
 Reperta ad annos ulterior plaga,
 35 CANTERE, postros (auguramur)
 Illa leget relegetque libros.

Anno CIOIOXCI.

Paulus Melissus
 Francus.

Die beigelegte Randnotiz bestätigt Schäfers Bemerkung bezüglich der Originalhandschriften der *Acanthae*: »dass die Verse von einem Schreiber (...), Titel, Quellenverweis, Jahresangabe und namentliche Unterschrift dagegen von Melissus selbst geschrieben worden sind«.² Melissus befindet sich nicht unter den Korrespondenten in J.A. Gruys, *The Correspondence of Theodorus Canterus (Dirk Canter 1545-1616). An Inventory* (Nieuwkoop, 1978), aber ein Gedicht des Melissus *Ad Theodorum Canterum* anlässlich des Todes Willem Canter (1542-1575) beweist, dass es weitere Kontakte zwischen Melissus und Canter gegeben hat³.

Canter und Buchelius waren 1591 beide Einwohner der Stadt Utrecht. Laut folgender Notiz des Buchelius in seinem *Diarium* war Buchelius mit Canter persönlich bekannt: (April 1592) »Intelligo ex Cantero, meditare Lipsium facem historiarum, ad hoc tamen ei deesse copiam librorum«⁴.

Die Originalhandschrift der Ode des Melissus war dem Buchelius also leicht zugänglich. Übrigens hat Buchelius selber drei Gedichte an Melissus gerichtet. Siehe UB Utrecht, Hs. 836 »Farrago Poematum Arnoldi Buchellij Batavi«, fol. 23^v-24^v; 25^{r-v}.

NL-3511 ZC Utrecht
Bijlhouwerstraat 2-bis.

² Die 'Dornen', S. 236-237.

³ Melissi *Schediasmata Poetica secundo edita multo auctiora* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, MDLXXXVI), S. 551-552. Vgl. P. de Nolhac, *Un poète rhénan ami de la Pléiade: Paul Melissus* (Paris, 1923), S. 79.

⁴ *Diarium van Arend van Buchell*. Uitgegeven door G. Brom en L. A. van Langeraad (Amsterdam, 1907), S. 322.

Elida Maria SZAROTA

DER EINFLUSS DER FRÜHAUFKLÄRUNG AUF DAS JESUITENDRAMA

Für die allermeisten bisherigen Forscher endete die Geschichte des Jesuitendramas mit dem Jahr 1655¹ oder bestenfalls 1680². Nichts ist ungerechter als dies, denn erstens bestand die Gattung des Jesuitendramas noch bis 1773 und übte auf die Jugend der katholischen Länder noch ihren unverkennbaren Einfluß aus, zweitens aber war es eine Spezifik dieses Dramas, und zwar von Anfang an, die Zeitprobleme, die modernen Ereignisse, Tendenzen und Fragestellungen in das Theater zu integrieren oder zu berücksichtigen und somit auch die Aufklärung.

Bevor hier dargelegt wird, was unter dem Frühaufklärerischen des späten Jesuitendramas (von rund 1700 an) zu verstehen ist, soll darauf hingewiesen werden, daß selbstverständlich die im 17. Jahrhundert beliebten Themen der Jesuitenbühne bis hin zur Auflösung des Ordens diesem Theater erhalten blieben. Es wäre falsch, von einem Bruch oder einer Diskontinuität zu sprechen. Denn die Haupt- und Grundthemen des Jesuitendramas wie Konversionen, Martyrium um des Glaubens willen, Abscheu vor der Abtrünnigkeit, Bekämpfung aller Formen der Häresie, den Glauben an die Intercessio Sanctorum — das alles finden wir bis zuletzt wieder³.

Das Neue ist vorerst der anti-autoritäre Geist, der sich hier und da Luft schafft und in manchen charakteristischen Szenen bereits eine neue Zeit ankündigt. Denn Aufklärung war ja, wie man längst erkannt hat, eine Mündigkeitserklärung der Menschheit, die sich gegen die bis-

¹ Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge. Von den Anfängen bis 1655*, Zwei Bände (Freiburg, 1930).

² Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande (1554-1680)*, Drei Bände (Bern-Frankfurt, 1978).

³ Zu diesem und anderen Themen des Jesuitendramas vgl. meine Einleitung zu Bd. I meiner Periochen-Edition (im folgenden *PE* abgekürzt), München 1979.

herigen Autoritäten auflehnte. Mit diesen Autoritäten war allerdings in den katholischen Ländern niemals die Kirche gemeint.

Ein zweites, was nach 1700 auf der Jesuitenbühne auffällt, ist die Scheu vor der Darstellung supramundaner Vorgänge auf der Bühne. Man vermeidet ausdrücklich die Szenen, in denen die Seelen Verstorbener vom Himmel auf die Erde herabschauen.

Ferner ist bemerkenswert, daß man — vielleicht ohne es zu wollen und ohne sich klar darüber zu sein — Stellung zu alten Wertkategorien nimmt und neue Wertbegriffe einführt.

Und schließlich werden von 1700 an Figuren auf die Jesuitenbühne gebracht, die man früher nicht gewagt hätte, zu Personen von Jesuitendramen zu machen.

I

Im J. 1717 wurde in Burghausen und 1732 in Landsberg ein Stück über den Erzbischof Bernard von Toledo aufgeführt. Dieser widersetzte sich seinem König, Alphons VI. von León und Kastilien (1030-1109). Nach einem Krieg gegen die Mauren hatte der König — der Legende nach — einen Friedensvertrag mit jenen geschlossen, der dem Erzbischof von Toledo sehr mißfiel. Alphons VI. hatte nämlich den Mauren die schönste Kirche von Toledo, eine Marienkirche, übergeben, was der Erzbischof völlig unzulässig fand. Zusammen mit der Gemahlin des Königs protestiert er gegen diese Cedierung einer katholischen Kirche an die Mohammedaner und nimmt sie eigenwillig für die Katholiken in Besitz. Der König ist entrüstet, daß der Erzbischof das Wort, das er, Alphons, den Mauren gegeben hatte, über den Kopf des Königs hinweg gebrochen hat. Er ist sofort entschlossen, den Erzbischof und seine eigene Gemahlin wegen ihrer "frevelhaften Tat" hinrichten zu lassen. In dieser für beide lebensgefährlichen Lage setzen sich die Mauren und die Tochter des Königs (im Stück der Sohn) für Erzbischof Bernard und die Königin Constantia ein. Der König aber beharrt auf seinem Beschluß: "Interim Regis Filia (cui Filium Scenae gratia substituimus) (...) Regi ad Urbis portas occurrit, piaque sagacitate instructa, mortem Matris, & Bernardi petit, eo quod Coelitum Reginae se magis devotos, quam Regi terreno exhibuerint". — "So begehre ich O Vatter/ daß du die Königin/ und den Ertz-Bischoff alsbald hinrichten lassest/ weilen sie sich wider dich, einen irrdischen König vergriffen/ damit sie dem Himmlischen gehorsambten". Das ist natürlich ironisch

gemeint. Der König begreift es und verwandelt nun das Urteil in ewige Verbannung. In diesem kritischen Augenblick meldet sich eine sarazenische Delegation, die für den Erzbischof und die Königin eintritt und flehentlich um ihr Leben bittet. Sie habe an gewissen Zeichen erkannt, daß die Besetzung der Kirche mit dem Willen Gottes geschehen sei. So wird zuletzt alles zum besten gelöst: Die Katholiken behalten ihre Kirche dank der mutigen Worte des Sohnes und der Großzügigkeit der Mauren, die auf sie verzichten.

Die Tatsache, daß ein Erzbischof sich so energisch und tatkräftig den Anordnungen des Königs widersetzt, zeigt deutlich, daß wir in einer Zeit sind, wo es möglich ist, so etwas auf einer Jesuitenbühne darzustellen. Auch die Thomas-Morus-Dramen konnten sich erst 1708 und 1713⁴ auf der Jesuitenbühne sehen lassen. Im Gegensatz aber zu Thomas Morus redet der Erzbischof von Toledo nicht nur, sondern er handelt dem Befehl des Königs zuwider. Er zieht sogar die Mauren auf seine Seite. Gewiß spielt das Stück in Spanien und zu einer Zeit der Koexistenz von christlichen Spaniern und Mauren⁵. Aber dennoch könnte man es sich im 17. Jahrhundert nicht auf einer deutschen Jesuitenbühne gespielt denken.

Hinzu kommt, was unseren Erörterungen ein besonderes Gewicht gibt, daß die Tochter — im Stück der Sohn — sich dem Vater widersetzt, wissen wir doch welche Gewalt der Vater besaß, und ganz besonders im Jesuitendrama. Das eben ist die anti-autoritäre Note, die unverkennbar ist.

Ein Jahr nach der Landsberger Aufführung des *Bernardus Archiepiscopus Toletanus*, nämlich 1733, wurde Franz Neumayrs *Papinianus Jurisconsultus* in München aufgeführt. Erst 1760 wurde die Tragödie in Neumayrs *Theatrum Politicum* in Augsburg und Ingolstadt gedruckt. Das in lateinischer Prosa geschriebene Stück lehnt sich ziemlich eng an einen der sogenannten *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, nämlich "Aelius Spartianus" an. Es handelt sich um das Werk eines anonymen spät-

⁴ *Thomas Morus Ein unbewegliche Tugend-Saul und Heldenmüthiger Verfechter Der wahren Kirchen in Engeland*, München, Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, 4° Bavar. 2193, VII, 16, abgedruckt in *PE* III, vii, 5.

⁵ Über die Koexistenz von christlichen Spaniern und Mauren und deren gegenseitige Toleranz schreibt Américo Castro in *La Realidad Histórica de España*. Aus dem Spanischen übertragen von Suzanne Heintz unter dem Titel: *Spanien, Vision und Wirklichkeit* (Köln-Berlin, 1957). Vgl. besonders: VII. Kapitel, "Drei Christlich-Arabische Institutionen", Ss. 201-231, besonders Ss. 220-227, "Toleranz". Und X. Kapitel, "Denken und religiöse Sensibilität", Ss. 301-365, besonders Ss. 312-326, "Der moralische Objektivismus Kastiliens bis zum 14. Jahrhundert".

antiken Fälschers (vielleicht um 395-405 entstanden), der seine *Historia Augusta* Geschichtsschreibern mit fiktiven Namen zugeschrieben hat. Er verwertete jedoch historisch zuverlässige Quellen. Franz Neumayr entwirft in seiner Tragödie ein ganz anderes Bild Papinians als Gryphius⁶. Bekanntlich macht Gryphius die Weigerung Papinians, Caracallas Geta-Mord zu beschönigen, zum Angelpunkt seines Trauerspiels, zur einzigen Ursache seiner Hinrichtung. Sein Papinian ist eindeutig, in sich stimmig, ein Monolith. Im Gegensatz dazu ist der Neumayrsche Papinian mehrdeutig und vielschichtig. Er verrät seinen Sohn, der hier bereits Quästor ist und kein Kind, wie bei Gryphius, um Caracalla, einem perfiden und blutrünstigen Tyrannen, zu beweisen, wie unparteiisch, wie gerecht er urteilt. Er behauptet, sein Sohn gehöre der Geta-Partei an und sei Teilnehmer einer Verschwörung gewesen, die gegen Caracalla gerichtet war.

So wenig dieser Aspekt des *Papinianus Jurisconsultus* "aufklärerisch" wirkt, so aufklärerisch wirkt ein anderer, den Neumayr — fast möchte man sagen, gegen seine eigene Überzeugung — ins Spiel bringt, nämlich die Rolle der Verschwörer, die die Protestierenden, Rebellierenden, Anti-Autoritären sind.

Die Rolle der Verschwörer Helvius⁷, Serenus⁸ und Macrinus⁹ ist in einem Jesuitendrama von besonders starker Wirkung. Sie haben nur Verachtung für einen Rechtsgelehrten, der Caracalla zum Munde redet und dabei seinen Sohn und seine Freunde verrät, sie völlig im Stich läßt, um vor einem *solchen* Kaiser zu bestehen. Aus den Worten des Helvius, Serenus und Macrinus spricht die Empörung der Verratenen. Papinian verlangt von den Verschwörern, daß sie den Kaiser um Ver-

⁶ Über Gryphius' *Papinian* gibt es in den letzten 25 Jahren eine umfangreiche Literatur. Ich erinnere an Herbert Heckmann, *Elemente des barocken Trauerspiels. Am Beispiel des Papinian von Andreas Gryphius* (Darmstadt, 1959); die Besprechung Papinians in Marian Szyrockis *Andreas Gryphius, sein Leben und Werk* (Tübingen, 1964), Ss. 92-95; Hans-Jürgen Schings' Analyse in *Die Dramen des Andreas Gryphius*, hrsg. von Gerhard Kaiser, (Stuttgart, 1968), Ss. 170-203; Werner Eggers' *Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit im Trauerspiel von Andreas Gryphius* (Heidelberg, 1967), passim; ferner meine Interpretationen in *Künstler, Grübler und Rebellen* (Bern, 1967) und in *Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft im Drama des 17. Jhs.* (ebd., 1976). S. auch meinen Vergleich zwischen dem Gryphschen und Neumayrschen Trauerspiel in *Argenis*, 1981 (im Druck).

⁷ Helvius, Anhänger Getas, Gegner Caracallas.

⁸ Serenus Sammonicus, Grammatiker und Antiquar, fiel 212 als Anhänger Getas Caracalla zum Opfer.

⁹ Macrinus zettelte eine Verschwörung gegen Caracalla an. Am 11. April 217 riefen ihn die Soldaten zum Kaiser aus. Er wurde aber bereits um die Mitte des Jahres 218 ermordet.

zeihung bitten, aber Helvius ist entrüstet darüber. Wie gern wäre er gestorben, wenn er eine ruhmreiche und heilige Tat begangen hätte! Serenus wirft Papinian vor, dem Tyrannen zu schmeicheln und zwar in kriecherischer Weise. "So ein Papinian bist du, ist dies die Verehrung des Rechts, ist dies deine Virtus? Die besten Söhne der Römer verurteilst du, um Caracalla zu gefallen!" Zuletzt schwingt sich Serenus zu ironischen Vivatrufen für Caracalla auf: "Es lebe der Brudermörder zum Ruin des Imperiums!" Diesen Ton nimmt Helvius auf: "Er lebe, damit Rom untergeht, daß es die Strafe für seine feige Geduld bezahle". Und endlich Helvius: "Lebe, triumphiere, Cäsar, der du größer bist als Scipio Africanus Major, als Alexander von Mazedonien! Du hast Geta getötet, du sollst fortan Geticus heißen"!

Im 17. Jahrhundert war auch in gerechtester Sache nie die Stimme der Aufrührer von der Bühne herab erklingen. Ja man hatte jeden rebellischen Ton gemieden, sogar der flammende Protest eines jungen Christen gegen den römischen Tyrannen, dem er die Wahrheit mit heiligem Zorn entgegenhält, ein Protest, der von den Hagiographen überliefert wird, wurde auf der Jesuitenbühne zum Schweigen verurteilt¹⁰.

Und ein solches anti-autoritäres Aufbegehren finden wir noch in anderen Tragödien Franz Neumayrs. So ist es Vitalianus, der sich im *Anastasius Dicorus* (1734) gegen den Kaiser Ostroms empört, sich um 514 zu seinem Feind erklärt, mehrere Provinzen besetzt (Thrazien, Scythien, Mösien) und bis Konstantinopel vordringt. Er ist die Seele mehrerer Aufstände gegen Anastasius, einen Förderer einiger Sekten. Im J. 518 wird Anastasius vom Blitz erschlagen, 520 fällt Vitalianus einem Aufstand zum Opfer. Auch Neumayrs *Titus* — sein frühestes Stück — enthält eine sinnlose, unberechtigte Verschwörung, nämlich die Domitians gegen seinen Bruder Titus, die übrigens unhistorisch ist. Aus dieser Tatsache erkennt man deutlich, daß das Klima der Verschwörungen unseren Autor fasziniert hat.

Die anti-autoritäre Haltung richtet sich nicht nur gegen Könige und Kaiser, sondern auch gegen die sanktionierten Institutionen und Behörden und deren Verwalter. Das Stück *Justitia Vapulans in Theatrum Producta in Colono Quodam Germano* — *Die nothleidende Gerechtigkeit*

¹⁰ Ich denke z.B. an die schöne Vitus-Vita bei Surius, *De Probatiss Sanctorum Historiis*, zum 15. Juni, z.J. 290. Vgl. meinen Kommentar in *PE* I, 2, Ss. 1760-1762. Der Text steht Ss. 1195-1202.

In einem Teutschen Bours-Mann — wurde zwar schon 1691 — also neun Jahre vor unserer Cäsur — in Neuburg a.d. Donau aufgeführt, paßt aber unbedingt in das anti-autoritäre Klima der Frühaufklärung, das hier evoziert werden soll. Das Stück spielt zur Zeit des Marcus Aurelius, offenbar kurz nach der Besiegung der Markomannen und Quaden durch den Kaiser¹¹. Der deutsche Bauersmann, der nach Rom kommt, um sich über die römischen Beamten zu beklagen, die mit der Bevölkerung des neuerobernten Landes rücksichtslos umgehen, kann seine Klage überhaupt nicht vor einem Gerichtshof vorbringen, weil der Rechtsanwalt ungeheure Summen verlangt, der Beamte, der die Petenten bei dem Richter anzumelden hat, unseren Bauern so arrogant behandelt, daß er darauf verzichtet, bei dem Richter vorzusprechen. Die einzige Möglichkeit, angehört zu werden, ist, vor dem Kaiser selber zu erscheinen, der manchmal Recht spricht. Er geruht auch tatsächlich, unseren Bauern anzuhören. Das ist aber auch alles. Die Klage unseres *Colonus germanus* wird zwar weitergeleitet, bleibt aber an irgendeiner Amtsstelle hängen und wandert wohl in den Papierkorb. Die Bürokratie hat sich zu einer Institution entwickelt, die die Erledigung menschlicher Probleme fast unmöglich macht. Der Bauer muß unverrichteter Sache zurückkehren und tritt verbittert den Rückweg an.

In diesem Stück wird also der ganze Apparat der Justiz angegriffen, die Bestechlichkeit der Rechtsanwälte, die Arroganz der kleinen Beamten, die sich allzuviel Macht anmaßen, die Gleichgültigkeit der höchsten Machthaber, das ganze System der Bürokratie.

In manchen späten Jesuitendramen empören sich die jungen Menschen gegen die Tyrannei ihrer Väter, und im *Titus Manlius Pius erga Severum Etiam Parentem* (München 1572) ist es in Sz. II, v die Jugend die gegen die Befehle der Erwachsenen aufbegehrt.

II

Ebenso interessant ist es, diejenigen Themen näher zu betrachten, die als typisch hagiographisch oder auch zutiefst religiös angesehen

¹¹ Die Vorlage zu diesem Stück stammt von Antonio Guevara, *Epistolae*, II. Teil, *Epistolae et Dissertationes* (Frankfurt, 1671), darin: *Sermo Pagani cuiusdam ad Senatores Romanos, qui a ripis Danubij de Romanorum in patriam suam saevitia questum venerat*. Der Periochentext trägt die Signatur 4° Bavar. 2193, V, 17. Er wurde abgedruckt in meiner *PE* II, i, 32.

wurden: Stanislaus, Bischof von Krakau, und Wilhelm Herzog von Aquitanien.

In früheren Stücken hatte man die Szene der Totenerweckung des Petrus, des früheren Besitzers des Gutes Piotrawin, ins Zentrum der Stanislaus-Dramen gestellt, um die Heiligkeit des Bischofs zu beweisen¹². Als im J. 1733 ein Stanislaus-Stück in Hall im Tirol aufgeführt wurde, blieb die Szene der so berühmten Totenerweckung fort. Wenn die Aufführung nicht lächerlich wirken sollte, durfte die Inszenierung einer so realistischen Totenerweckung, wie man sie bisher gesehen hatte, nicht mehr riskiert werden. Deshalb könnte man sagen: Nicht an dem Dargestellten, sondern an dem Nicht-Dargestellten spürt man den Geist einer neuen Zeit.

Eine ähnliche Tilgung der kirchlichen Glaubensvorstellungen und jahrhundertealten Vorurteile kann man in einigen Wilhelm-von-Aquitaniens-Stücken feststellen. Wilhelm von Aquitanien wurde sehr lange von der Kirche der Vorwurf gemacht, daß er sich, als es im J. 1130 durch eine Doppelwahl zwei Päpste gab, nämlich Innozenz II.¹³ und Anaklet II.¹⁴, für Anaklet entschied, während die meisten Länder — außer Aquitanien, Schottland und dem normannischen Unter-Italien — sich für Innozenz II. erklärt hatten, in dem sie den wahren Papst sahen. Die heutige Kirchengeschichte ist der Meinung, daß Anaklet II. der klügere, gebildetere und derjenige war, dem alle den Vorrang hätten geben müssen, und so dachte auch — der Überlieferung zufolge — Wilhelm von Aquitanien. In einem der Wilhelm-von-Aquitaniens-Stücke des 18. Jahrhunderts und merkwürdigerweise in dem spätesten, wird die Rivalität beider Päpste auf die Bühne gebracht. Aber in den beiden andern Stücken des 18. Jahrhunderts wird Wilhelm keineswegs als derjenige gezeichnet, der sich für den "falschen" Papst entschied und dafür büßen mußte, sondern als gewöhnlicher Sünder, der als Sühne für seine Sünden des Fleisches (u.a. Inzest) in ein Panzerhemd eingeschnürt leben muß. Das Problem wahrer Papst — falscher Papst wird hier völlig ausgeklammert. Wilhelm von Aquitanien erscheint in diesen Stücken als sehr sympathischer Fürst,

¹² Vgl. zu diesem Thema meinen Aufsatz "Boleslaus der Kühne und der Hl. Stanislaus auf den Bühnen des 17. Jahrhunderts", in *Gegenreformation und Literatur. Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Erforschung der katholischen Reformbewegung*, hrsg. von Jean-Marie Valentin als Sonderheft zu *Daphnis*, 8, Heft 3/4 (1979), Ss. 271-298.

¹³ Innozenz II., Papst von 1130-1143.

¹⁴ Anaklet II. (Petrus Pierleone), Gegenpapst Innozenz' II. vom Februar 1130 bis 25.1.1138.

der um das Wohl seiner Untertanen besorgt ist. Zuletzt aber erkennt er — wie so viele Fürsten vor und nach ihm — die Vanitas der Welt und zieht sich in die Einsamkeit zurück.

Überhaupt ist der Unterschied in der Darstellung religiöser Fragen und Personen zwischen 1597 und 1697 (als Stichzahl) auffallend groß. Wenn man z.B. die Münchener Sankt-Michaels-Stücke von 1597 und 1697¹⁵ miteinander vergleicht, fällt sofort auf, daß das Festspiel von 1597 den Erzengel Michael feiert und preist, während das Stück von 1697 ein Lob Wilhelms V.¹⁶ enthält, dem der bayerische Michaelskult und die Erbauung der St.-Michaels-Kirche in München zu verdanken ist.

Um es allgemein zu sagen, könnte man die Formulierung wagen, daß das Theater allmählich zu einem politischen Werkzeug wird. Es ist ja kein Zufall, daß Franz Neumayr seine Dramensammlung *Theatrum Politicum* nennt. In vielen Stücken wird die falsche "Politik" bemängelt. Die meisten Ereignisse werden politisch beurteilt, nicht mehr konfessionell, und auch der allgemein-menschliche Standpunkt tritt hinter dem politischen zurück.

Von hier aus wird auch verständlich, daß der Calderónsche Prinz Fernando (der standhafte Prinz) bei den Jesuiten nicht mehr nur um des Glaubens willen den freiwilligen Märtyrertod durch langsames Dahinsiechen auf sich nimmt, sondern daß er zu einem politisch, ja realpolitisch denkenden Prinzen wird, der von sich aus gar nicht bereit ist zu sterben, um Ceuta für die Katholische Kirche zu bewahren, wie bei Calderón, sondern der festen Überzeugung ist, daß sein Bruder, der König von Portugal, ein so großes Lösegeld für ihn bezahlen wird, daß er freikommt, ohne daß Portugal Ceuta einbüßen muß¹⁷.

III

Das Frappanteste und Modernste am späten Jesuitendrama ist jedoch die Relativierung der Rechtsbegriffe, die den Geist einer neuen Zeit offenbart. So wie Voltaire den Satz von Leibniz, daß wir in der besten der möglichen Welten leben, im *Candide* in Frage stellte, wird im späten Jesuitendrama das jahrhundertealte Rechtsdenken in Frage oder zu-

¹⁵ Abgedruckt in Bd. III der *PE* als Texte III, ii, 2 und III, ii, 3.

¹⁶ Wilhelm V. (1548-1626), von 1579-1597/98 Herzog von Bayern.

¹⁷ Vgl. meinen Kommentar in *PE* II zu den Texten II, i, 10-12.

mindest zur Debatte gestellt. Ob sich die Autoren der hier gemeinten Stücke vollkommen klar darüber wurden, mag dahingestellt bleiben.

Das neue Rechtsdenken tut sich nicht nur in der modernen Ausdeutung Papinians kund, sondern auch im *Iphicrates Atheniensis*, der im J. 1733 über die Landshuter Bühne ging. Er wurde aufgrund von Gabriel François le Jays¹⁸ *Bibliotheca Praecepta et Exempla complectens, quae ad oratoriam et poeticam Facultatem pertinent* geschrieben. Dort war der Antagonismus Iphicrates-Acoetes als juristischer Fall in Gesprächsform dargestellt worden und zwar im Kapitel: "Iphicrates et Acoetes, Causa quinta in Genere judiciali", II. Buch S. 461-482 (Pariser Neudruck von 1809). In Le Jays Buch wird gezeigt, daß derjenige, für den der Leser von Anfang an Partei ergriff, nämlich Iphikrates, dessen Söhne infolge der Denunziation des Acoetes von der wütenden Volksmenge getötet worden waren, allmählich das Vertrauen des Lesers verliert, welches sich allmählich seinem Antagonisten und Feind, Acoetes, zuwendet. Das bringt der Rechtsanwalt des Acoetes, der eine große Verteidigungsrede für Acoetes hält, dadurch zuwege, daß er nachweist, Acoetes habe den verdächtigen Iphikrates aus Patriotismus, aus einem großen Verantwortungsgefühl heraus angezeigt. Iphikrates sei in aller Stille, von niemandem gesehen, und ohne auch nur einen Menschen ins Vertrauen gezogen zu haben, in das Lager des Feindes gegangen; keiner hätte wissen können, daß es geschehen war, um den Landesfeind zu erschlagen, es habe nach einer verräterischen Aktion ausgesehen. So sympathisiert der Leser eine Zeitlang mit dem patriotischen Denunzianten Acoetes, umso mehr als der Rechtsanwalt betont, daß er ein armer Plebejer sei, kein Patrizier, wie Iphicrates. Wenn ein Plebejer sich um die Republik wohlverdient machen kann, solle ihn nicht die Autorität der Mächtigen oder gar die Furcht vor ihnen davon abhalten.

Der Autor des *Iphicrates Atheniensis* macht aus diesem juristischen Exemplum ein Drama in drei Teilen. Aus dem ersten Teil geht hervor, daß Acoetes alles daran setzt, seinen alten Feind Iphicrates zu schädigen und beim König verdächtig zu machen. Hier ist das heimliche Verschwinden des Iphicrates aus der Stadt erst der letzte Anlaß zum Vorgehen gegen Iphicrates, zur Anzeige-Erstattung des Acoetes; andere gehen ihm voran. Auch im zweiten Teil erscheint Acoetes sehr un-

¹⁸ Gabriel François le Jay S.J. (1657-1734). Die erste Auflage der *Bibliotheca Rhetorum praecepta & exempla complectens...* erschien in 2 Bänden, Douai 1725.

sympathisch, er frohlockt, daß die Söhne des Iphicrates von dem Pöbel gesteinigt worden sind. Ja, als Iphicrates schon den Feind besiegt hat, möchte Acoetes den Eintritt des Siegers in die Stadt hintertreiben. Die psychologische Lage ist also wie bei Le Jay: zuerst Sympathie mit Iphicrates, Antipathie gegen Acoetes.

Im dritten Teil begehrt Iphicrates sein Recht von dem König und verlangt, daß Acoetes dasselbe Schicksal zuteil wird wie ihm. Acoetes fleht ihn um Verzeihung, aber umsonst. Nun kommt ein überraschendes Ende: Bis zur 8. Sz. von Teil III stand der Zuschauer auf der Seite des Iphicrates und hatte nur Verachtung für den Denunzianten Acoetes. Plötzlich aber — im allerletzten Auftritt — setzt sich der ganze Hof für Acoetes und seine Söhne ein, und so kommt die Versöhnung zwischen Iphicrates und Acoetes ohne einen Übergang zustande. Iphicrates wird von dem Hof, der sich auffallend solidarisch mit Acoetes verhält, geradezu moralisch gezwungen, Acoetes zu vergeben¹⁹. Ob man das mit "Selbstüberwindung" bezeichnen kann, bleibe dahingestellt. Man sieht jedenfalls an diesem Stück, daß die Rechtsbegriffe erschüttert sind.

Auch der Streit um das Gut Piotrawin, der den Hauptinhalt des oben kurz besprochenen Stanislaus-Dramas bildet, ist ein Rechtsfall. In der Legende und den frühen Stanislaus-Stücken erweckt der Bischof, da ihn die Zeugen, um den König nicht zu erzürnen, im Stich lassen, einen Toten, den früheren Eigentümer, der bezeugt, daß Bischof Stanislaus das Gut rechtmäßig erworben hat. Da diese Szene im J. 1733 fortbleibt, wird aus der Wundergeschichte ein banaler Rechtsfall, in dem die Wahrheit den Sieg davonträgt. Darauf läßt der Titel des Stücks²⁰ schließen. Wir müssen diesen Sieg dem Choragus glauben, aber sehen können wir ihn nicht — wie einst zur Zeit, da man noch an Wunder glaubte.

Auch die Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Erzbischof von Toledo und Alphons VI. von Kastilien und León, die vorhin erwähnt wurde, ist ein Rechtsfall. Hatte der König das Recht, den Mauren eine Marienkirche zu schenken, um auf diese Weise den Frieden zwischen christlichen Spaniern und Mauren zu besiegeln? Hatte der Erzbischof von Toledo das Recht, eigenmächtig vorzugehen und die Marienkirche

¹⁹ Die offensichtliche Parteinahme des Hofes für den Denunzianten Acoetes in diesem Stück enthält eine camouflierte Kritik an den Höfen.

²⁰ Das Stück heißt *Veritas Tragoedia*. Es trägt die Signatur 4^o Bavar. 2193, XII, 8 und wurde abgedruckt in *PE* I, Text I, v, 22.

für die Christen in Besitz zu nehmen, nachdem doch der König im Namen Spaniens sein Wort gegeben und die Kirche den Mauren versprochen hatte?

Von 1740 an hören wir ganz neue Töne auf der Jesuitenbühne: die Größe des Menschen wird gefeiert. Natürlich darf sich der Mensch nicht mit Gott messen, was Alphons X. versucht hatte, wofür ihn die Patres scharf kritisierten²¹. Aber der Mensch hatte Anspruch auf seinen Status hohen Menschentums, auf die Anerkennung seiner Würde, er durfte seine Souveränität unter Beweis stellen. Diese Souveränität geht so weit, daß der Dichter nun auch das Schicksal historischer Persönlichkeiten in modernem Sinne frei umgestalten darf. So ist es charakteristisch, daß der Münchener Belisarius von 1740 sich durchaus von dem Bidermannschen von 1607 unterscheidet²². Im J. 1740 ist Belisarius ein Feldherr, der seinem Kaiser seine Untreue und Undankbarkeit vergibt und ihm wieder zum Thron verhilft, den er Gefahr lief einzubüßen. So souverän ist er geworden, daß nun sein Kaiser von ihm, Belisarius, abhängt, den er ungerecht und rücksichtslos behandelt hatte!

In dem Drama *Vindicta Christiano-Boica* (München 1749) rächt sich der bayerische Feldherr Sohler nach seinem Sieg über die Türken nicht an seinem Gegner, der ihn früher, als er sein Gefangener war, mißhandelt hatte, sondern vergibt ihm großmütig.

So ist es auch in den Sirmpanus-Stücken von 1740 und 1762. Hier wird die heroisch-christliche Geste des Feldherrn Sirmpanus aufs höchste gepriesen. Anstatt seinen Gegner Palaeologus, einen Rebellen und Verräter seines Herrn Andronicus des Jüngeren, hinzurichten, was er von rechtswegen verdient hätte, vergibt Sirmpanus ihm großmütig, weil es ihn freut und mit Stolz erfüllt, daß ein großer Herr wie Palaeologus von ihm, dem ehemaligen Hirten, abhängig ist und ihm sein Leben verdankt.

Im *Iphicrates Victor* (München 1753) wetteifern die Elemente miteinander, wer der Stärkste ist. Jupiter, der Schiedsrichter, preist Iphicrates als Überwinder seiner selbst. Er singt:

²¹ Spätere Jesuiten — um 1700 und später — stellten diese blasphemische Äußerung bereits in Frage, so Antonio Foresti in seinem *Mappamondo Istorico*, 6 Bde (Parma-Venezia, 1690-1694).

²² Vgl. meinen Kommentar zu Bidermanns *Belisarius* in *PE* II, Text II, iv, 1, und zum *Belisarius* von 1740 in *PE* III, Text III, x, 22.

Haec (die Elemente) superat, qui se
 Scit ipsum vincere,
 Herois animus
 Novus semideus
 In astris collocandus.

So ein Lob menschlicher Größe war zuvor nie von der Jesuitenbühne erklingen.

IV

War Heinrich IV. von Frankreich schon im Jahr seiner Ermordung (1610) von dem Niederländer Abraham de Koning (ca. 1587-1619) zum Helden eines Dramas erwählt worden, so wagten die Jesuiten erst im Jahr 1722 diesen Herrscher auf ihre Bühne zu führen. Sie begriffen erst jetzt, daß nicht derjenige König ein guter Herrscher ist, der mit fanatischer Intoleranz vorgeht und alle Andersgläubigen verfolgt, ja sie womöglich in einen Krieg verwickelt, sondern derjenige, der die Einheit der Religion ohne Blutvergießen herstellt und so für das Wohlergehen seiner Untertanen sorgt, für ein Leben in Ruhe und Frieden. So ging 1722 ein Stück über die beiden Jesuitenbühnen von Fribourg und München, in welchem die allmählich vollzogene Konversion Henri IV's gezeigt wurde. Die Vertreter beider Konfessionen treten auf: der Kardinal Jacques Perron, der den Standpunkt der Katholischen Kirche vertritt, und Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, das Haupt der Hugenotten nach der Ermordung Colignys. Beide versuchen, den König durch Argumente zu überzeugen. Aber der Katholik trägt den Sieg davon durch sein Argument vom freien Willen des Menschen, an dem die Jesuiten immer festhielten. Die calvinische Prädestinationslehre war für Henri IV nicht mehr annehmbar.

Die theologischen Dispute gehen auf den *Procès-verbal de ce qui s'est passé à Saint-Denys à l'instruction & absolution du Roy Henri IV, Juillet 1593* zurück, dessen Abschrift sich in mehreren Bibliotheken befand. Auch in Wolfenbüttel ist eine solche Copie, auf die ich mich stütze (Cod. Guelf. 3.1.262, 2 Aug. 2^o Fol. 14^vo-29^vo). Der Spielleiter dieses Stücks war Joseph Sedlmayr.

Wenige Jahre später sieht man einen anderen Herrscher Frankreichs auf der Schweizer Jesuitenbühne, nämlich Ludwig XII. Das Stück selber ist nichts als die Dramatisierung einer Anekdote, die man sich über ihn

erzählte. Er soll nämlich gesagt haben, er wolle seinen früheren Feinden vergeben und ihnen nichts nachtragen, denn es stehe dem König von Frankreich nicht zu, sich für die Beleidigungen des Herzogs von Orléans zu rächen; denn das war er ja, bevor er König wurde ("Ce n'est pas au Roi de France de venger les querelles du Duc d'Orléans").

Es ist wirklich schade, daß sich der Choragus auf diese eine Geschichte, die er noch durch eine Intrige des königlichen Favoriten zu beleben sucht, beschränkte; denn die Idee, Ludwig XII., le Juste, le Père du Peuple, auf die Bühne zu bringen, entsprach doch so sehr dem Geist der Zeit, lag geradezu in der Luft. Die meisten sympathischen Züge Ludwigs XII., seine Beliebtheit, seine Liebe zu seinem Volk, seine Gerechtigkeit und Großzügigkeit kommen in dem Stück nicht zum Ausdruck. Und das war doch alles geradezu geschaffen, die Sympathie der Zuschauer zu gewinnen. Wie dem auch sei, war es gut, daß wieder einmal ein französischer König auf der Bühne erschien, denn der einzige vor Henri IV. war Karl VI. gewesen, der — einem Text von 1647 zufolge — einen Köhler für seine Offenheit und Wahrheitsliebe belohnt²³. Die Beziehung zu Frankreich war lange Zeit durch die Kriege Ludwigs XIV. getrübt, und es bedurfte geraumer Zeit, um sich hier einen freien und durch nichts getrühten Blick zu verschaffen.

Nicht nur die Geschichte Frankreichs gerät nach 1700 — wenn auch nur durch die exemplarischen Fälle von zwei Königen — auf die Jesuitenbühne, sondern auch — schon vom Jahr 1700 an — die englische Geschichte. In diesem Jahr wird in Ingolstadt das erste — und soweit ich es übersehen kann — das einzige Drama über Karl I. Stuart aufgeführt: *Carolus I. Magnae Britanniae Rex. Tragoedia*. Überblickt man die Entwicklung der Stuart-Dynastie bis 1688 und bringt man sich den Katholizismus Jakobs II., des Herzogs von York, des jüngeren Sohnes Karls I. und Bruders Karls II. mit all seinen Implikationen in Erinnerung, erstaunt man, wie sehr, wie glänzend die Jesuiten hier eine Entwicklungslinie zurückverfolgten, die möglicherweise in Karl I. Stuart ihren Ursprung genommen hatte. In Karl I. faßt man hier den katholisierenden Vater Jakobs II., der die Saat zum militanten Katholizismus seines jüngeren Sohnes gelegt haben könnte. Karl I. wird in diesem Stück als ein geheimer Katholik dargestellt,

²³ Das Stück heißt *Carbonarius Veridicus*. Die Perioche trägt die Signatur 4° Bavar. 2193, II, 7 und wurde abgedruckt in Bd. II der *PE*, als Text II, i, 47.

der wegen seiner pro-katholischen Sympathien zum Tode verurteilt wird. Die in diesem Stück zum Ausdruck kommende Hypothese von der insgeheimen Katholizität Karls I. ist nicht ganz abwegig, und zumindest von Jakob II. her gesehen hat sie etwas durchaus Überzeugendes. *Se non è vero, è bene trovato*.

Wenn wir in diesem Stück einen Exponenten des Aufklärungsgedankens sehen — und inhaltlich scheint dies ja geradezu eine *contradictio in adiecto* zu sein — so deshalb, weil dem Stück ein unausgesprochener Entwicklungsgedanke immanent ist (natürlich nur dann, wenn wir Jakob II. in unsere Reflexionen miteinbeziehen), ein Entwicklungsgedanke, der in diesem Jahrhundert von verschiedenen Seiten her verfolgt und untersucht wurde. Denn Entwicklung bedeutet doch Fortschritt, ein Entfalten der Anlagen und Keime, eine Aufwärtsbewegung vom Niederen zum Höheren. Man denke zum Beispiel an Winckelmanns einander ablösende Stilepochen, die er aufgrund einzelner Plastiken rekonstruierte, oder auch an Lessings Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts usw. Der Choragus unserer Perioche über Karl I. Stuart meint gewiß, daß der in Karl I. latente katholische Glaube sich in Jakob II. voll entfaltet hat, und diese Konstruktion war ingenüös und in sich stimmig, wenn auch womöglich historisch inexakt. Um es paradox zu formulieren, könnte man sagen, daß die Patres aufklärerisches Gedankengut und aufklärerische Argumentation für ihre nicht-aufklärerischen Zwecke ausnutzten.

Es ergibt sich nun eigentlich von selbst, daß auch Maria Stuart auf der Jesuitenbühne erschien (1702 und 1709 dasselbe Stück mit verschiedenen Chören). So erhielt der Zuschauer der frühen Zeit des Jesuitendramas (Zwanziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts) ein Bild des auf seine Monarchenrechte pochenden Königs (Heinrichs II. Plantagenet) und der ca. 80-90 Jahre später Lebende ein Bild katholischer und katholisierender Monarchen einerseits und der Kollision zwischen Heinrich VIII. und Thomas Morus andererseits.

Und nun wird auch — und das ist ganz im Geist der Aufklärung — die Geschichte der Antike und der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte neu gesehen und neu dargestellt. Das Neue beruht zum Teil darauf, daß man zwischen den Vorgängen der Antike und den modernen eine Parallele herzustellen sucht.

Cicero hatte den des Verrats an Cäsar angeklagten Dejotarus²⁴

²⁴ Uns sind zwei Dejotarus-Periochen erhalten. Die eine stammt aus München (1739) und trägt die Signatur 4° Bavar. 2196, V, 12, abgedruckt in Bd. II der *PE* als Text II,

verteidigt. In den beiden Jesuitendramen-Periochen über Dejotarus, die uns erhalten sind, rückt dieser ganz in den Mittelpunkt. Er hat erfahren, daß ihn sein Enkel Castor bei Cäsar verleumdet hat, so daß er dadurch fast sein Leben eingebüßt hätte, aber anstatt sich für die schändliche Verleumdung an Castor zu rächen, vergibt Dejotarus seinem Enkel großzügig und opfert sein Privatinteresse, d.h. seine Privatrache, dem Allgemeinwohl. Hätte er dem Castor nicht vergeben und ihn nun verfolgt, wäre möglicherweise ein Bürgerkrieg ausgebrochen, den Dejotarus durch seine Großzügigkeit verhindert hat. Die Luzerner Jesuiten finden noch eine ganz besondere Anwendung der Dejotarus-Castor-Situation an ihre eigene Lage. Dejotarus repräsentiert nämlich die Jesuiten mit ihrem Theaterbetrieb, die oft unter der Rivalität der Luzerner Berufsschauspieler zu leiden hatten. Indem er ihnen großmütigerweise ihre Sticheleien und manchen Ärger nicht nachträgt, ermöglicht er den Rivalen eine reibungslose Ausübung ihres Berufs und gleichzeitig auf gegenseitiger Achtung beruhende Beziehungen zwischen diesen und den Patres.

Überhaupt ist die Antike eine Signatur des Jesuitendramas im ersten Drittel des 18. Jhs. Es gibt ein Drama von Anton Claus²⁵ über Themistokles, in dem Themistokles dafür gelobt wird, daß er dem Verrat des Vaterlandes oder des Gastfreundes — so lautete ja die Alternative — den Freitod vorgezogen hat. Nun kann man sich auf der Jesuitenbühne des 17. Jahrhunderts kein Stück vorstellen, in welchem der Selbstmord — aus was für Gründen auch immer — glorifiziert worden wäre.

i,22; die andere aus Luzern mit der Signatur Luzern Bro 8°, in der *PE* Text II,i,23. — Dejotarus ist durch Ciceros Verteidigungsrede *Pro Dejotaro* berühmt geworden. Er war Tetrarch der asiatischen Galater. Er entrann den Nachstellungen Mithridates VI. und war seitdem ein treuer Freund der Römer. Von besonderer Bedeutung wurde für ihn die Freundschaft mit Pompejus. Während des Bürgerkriegs zwischen Pompejus und Cäsar folgte und begleitete er ihn. Nach der Schlacht bei Pharsalos trennte er sich von ihm und machte seinen Frieden mit Cäsar. Sein Ehrgeiz ging dahin, ganz Galatien zu besitzen. Er geriet bald (58 v. Chr.) mit dem Fürsten der Trokmer, seinem Schwiegersohn Brogitaros, in Streit. Einige Jahre später ermordete er den Fürsten der Tektosagen, Kastor Tarkondarius, mit seiner Gattin, der eigenen Tochter, und nahm die Tetrarchie der Trokmer in Besitz. Später erhob sich Dejotarus' Enkel, Kastor, der Sohn des Ermordeten, gegen Dejotarus, er wurde bezichtigt, den Tod Cäsars gewollt zu haben. Dies ist der Kastor, von dem in unseren Stücken die Rede ist. Aus allen Schwierigkeiten ging Dejotarus immer letztenendes siegreich hervor. Nach dem Tode Cäsars schloß er sich den Cäsarmördern an, ging dann aber zu den Triumvirn über. Er behauptete sein Königtum und starb im J. 40 v. Chr.

²⁵ Anton Claus S.J. (1691-1754), Autor der *Tragoediae ludis autumnalibus datae*, 1741; *Tragoediae*, Ed. Secunda 1753.

Man beginnt geradezu in griechischen Kategorien zu denken, und das Stück wurde — in 2. Auflage — 1753 gedruckt, während die 1. Auflage 1741 erschien. Die 2. Auflage erscheint also 2 Jahre vor Winckelmanns Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke (1755). Die Koinzidenz stimmt immerhin nachdenklich.

Es ist interessant, daß die Vogue antiker Stoffe sowie der Ereignisse aus der Zeit der ersten Jahrhunderte nach Christus in den ersten dreivier Jahrzehnten des 18. Jhs. ununterbrochen anhält. Johann Baptista Adolph, dessen Dramen uns in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek handschriftlich erhalten sind, war Avancinis²⁶ Nachfolger als Hofpoet und Jesuitendramatiker. Er liebte es besonders, junge Menschen von 10 Jahren etwa zu seinen Helden zu machen, so Hannibal und den jüngeren Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor. Dieses Stück überschreibt er: *Virtus non postulat annos, sive Scipio Iunior Romanorum belli imperator*. Adolph schrieb auch ein Stück über Arminius: *Amor patriae sive Arminius Germanorum defensor*. In seinem Stück über Themistokles führt er wieder einen Knaben ein, der die Versöhnung zwischen Themistokles und Admetes vermittelt: *Themistocles Atheniensium dux Admeti Molossorum regi, mediante regio filiolo, reconciliatur*. Sein Hannibalstück trägt den Titel: *Hannibal puer novennis bellum iurans adversus Latinos*.

Auch früher hatte man ganz junge Menschen, Kinder noch, auf die Jesuitenbühne gebracht. Aber das waren junge Märtyrer, deren Glaubensfestigkeit man bewunderte oder die als junge Märtyrer starben und den Tod freudig auf sich nahmen. Jetzt aber wird der junge Scipio zum Feldherrn ernannt, der junge Hannibal schwört den Römern einen Krieg, und der Sohn des Admetes vermittelt zwischen seinem Vater und Themistokles — alles Handlungen für reife Menschen.

In den Zwanziger und Dreißiger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts interessiert der Staatsmann und Politiker mehr als der fromme Fürst, mehr als der Einsiedler, mehr als der freigebige Herrscher. An dies alles hatte man sich längst gewöhnt, es war tägliches Brot geworden. So werden in den Jahren 1708, 1712, 1719 und 1721 vier Boethius-

²⁶ Nicolaus Avancini S.J. (1612-1686), bedeutender Dramenautor, Hofdichter und Hofregisseur, besonders am Hof Leopolds I., Lyriker von hohem Rang. Höhepunkt des Wiener Jesuitentheaters. Seine Dramen wurden gedruckt in Wien (1655-1679), in Köln (1675-1680) und in Rom (1680). Zu J.B. Adolph siehe F.G. Sieveke, *Johann Baptist Adolph. Studien zum spätbarocken Wiener Jesuitendrama* (Köln, 1965).

Stücke aufgeführt²⁷, in denen der Titelheld weniger als Philosoph und Katholik gepriesen wird denn als Staatsmann; denn man muß wissen, daß im 17. Jahrhundert Boethius für einen Katholiken gehalten wurde.

Ein solcher Staatsmann war auch Kurfürst Karl Albrecht von Bayern, der spätere Kaiser Karl VII. Er hat den richtigen Blick für die Realitäten und beseitigt die Hochwassergefahr für die Umgebung von Ingolstadt, indem er die Donau aufs Neue reguliert, wie dies im *Domitor Danubii* dargestellt wird²⁸.

So wird der Staatsmann, der vernünftig handelt und zum Wohl der Mitbürger lebt und Recht spricht, immer mehr zum Idealtyp der Jesuitenbühne.

Warszawa

²⁷ Die Periochen sind abgedruckt in *PE* III, ii, 20-23 (erscheint 1982).

²⁸ *Domitor Danubii. Drama Musicum. Honoribus Serenissimi, ac Potentissimi Domini, Domini Caroli Alberti I., Utriusque Bavar(iae) ac Super(ioris) Palat(inatus) Ducis ...* (Ingolstadt, 1729), Sign. 4^o Bavar. 2193, XI, 35. Abgedruckt in *PE* III, iv, 7 (erscheint 1982).

H. KOLLER

EINE LATEINISCHE WOCHENZEITUNG
DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS:
DIE *COMMENTARII RERUM TOTO TERRARUM*
ORBE GESTARUM DES HIERONYMUS STETTLER

I

Bestandeszeitraum ¹	Erscheinungsort
22. März 1728 bis 16. Dez. 1730	Bern
Titel	
Commentarii rerum toto terrarum orbe gestarum	
Bern, Verleger: Hieronymus Stettler	
Drucker: (Gottschall) bis ca. November 1728	
Emanuel Hortin von November 28 bis Schluss	
Bestand: 1728 I-XLI (S. 1-4), 5-164	
Index rerum praecipuarum in Commentarios Anni MDCCXXVIII (vier Seiten, nicht num.)	
1729 I-LII, 1-208	
1730 I-XXVII mit Titel wie oben,	
XXVIII-XXXIX (16. Dez. 30) ohne Titel,	
Alle Nummern vierseitig, ausser XXVII (105/6),	
XXVIII (107/8), XXX (113/4), XXXI (115/115, statt	
116!), XXXII (117/8); zweispaltig, Indices für 1729, 1730 fehlen	
Fundorte: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Signatur E.A. IX. 46	
Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, Signatur Hist. XI. 31	
Beschreibung: Im Berner Exemplar fehlen: 1729 I, II	
1730 II; XIII	
Titelblatt, Widmung und Index für 1728 in beiden Exem- plaren identisch, s. dazu unten.	

¹ Aufstellung gemäss Else Bogel, Elger Blühm, *Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen, 1971).

Literatur: Hans Bloesch, »Eine bernische Zeitung vor 200 Jahren«, *Der kleine Bund*, 16. Nov. 1930

Hermann Koller, »Ein Unikum der schweizerischen Zeitungsgeschichte«, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 26./27. Juli 1980, Nr. 172.

II

Die *Commentarii rerum toto terrarum orbe gestarum* des Hieronymus Stettler erschienen vom 22. März 1728 an regelmässig vierseitig wöchentlich in Bern. Die letzte erhaltene Nummer datiert vom 16. Dezember 1730. Die Zeitung ist in zwei Exemplaren erhalten. Beide Exemplare sind in einem Band gebunden, wobei auffällt, dass sie ein Titelblatt aufweisen, das den ganzen Band erfasst. Es lautet:

Commentarii
Rerum Toto Terrarum
Orbe Gestarum
Inde
Ab Anno MDCCXXVIII
Usque
Ad Annum MDCCXXX
Bernae
Apud Emanuelem Hortinum MDCCXXX.

Dieses Titelblatt des Bandes bezieht sich auf alle in dem Band enthaltenen Zeitungen. Nun weisen aber auch beide Exemplare eine Vorrede mit Widmung des Herausgebers an seinen Verwandten Sigismund Stettler auf, welche mit Bernae, XIII. Kal. Apr. MDCCXXX (20. März 1730) datiert ist, also genau auf den Abschluss des zweiten Zeitungsjahres. Hieronymus schreibt auch darin, er habe jetzt »iam inde a duobus annis«, schon seit zwei Jahren, diese Zeitung herausgegeben. Als Beweis seiner Tätigkeit widmet er seinem jugendlichen Verwandten die beiden bisher erschienenen Jahrgänge. Beide Buchexemplare enthalten auch den vierseitigen, nicht nummerierten Index zum Jahr 1728, nicht aber den Index des Jahres 1729, der nach den Worten Stettlers an den üblichen Bezugsorten der Zeitung verlangt werden konnte:

Praest. lectores, quicumque Commentarios hos inde ab eorum initio asservari dignati fuerunt, admonere volui, me multorum incitatum adhortationibus Indicem tandem, sive ut notiori voce loquar, titulum ad duos priores annos emisisse:

qui illius tenentur desiderio, poterunt eum vel a me, vel ab iis, ad quos commentarios meos transmittere soleo, petere (25. März 1730).

Gleicherweise enthalten sie die restlichen Nummern der Zeitung bis zum 16. Dezember 1730. In der letzten Nummer lässt nichts auf ein plötzliches Ende des Unternehmens schliessen, ganz im Gegenteil, Stettler nimmt sich vor, Unregelmässigkeiten im Erscheinen der Zeitung im kommenden Jahr zu vermeiden:

post novi anni auspicia institutum meum mutare decrevi, ... singulis iterum hebdomadibus ephemerides meas emittam (146).

Auf gewisse Schwierigkeiten lässt vielleicht die Tatsache schliessen, dass einige Nummern gegen den Schluss hin nur zweiseitig erschienen (s. Zusammenstellung) und keinen Titel mehr aufweisen, so sämtliche Nummern vom 5. August bis zum 16. Dezember 1730. Stettler scheint sich auch bei seiner Familie im März 1730 für seine Tätigkeit rechtfertigen zu müssen. Dies und die zeitweilige Beschränkung des Umfangs lässt auf finanzielle Schwierigkeiten des Zeitungsunternehmens schliessen. Nichts aber weist in der Zeitung selbst auf ein baldiges Ende hin. Bevor ich auf eine heutige Begründung für das plötzliche Aufhören der Zeitung eingehe, müssen die Folgerungen aus dem Ueberlieferungsbestand gezogen werden. Es kann sich bei beiden erhaltenen gebundenen Exemplaren nicht um gesammelte Einzelstücke zweier Abonnenten handeln. Die Bände sind dafür in ihrem Bestand viel zu ähnlich. Insbesondere spricht das erwähnte Titelblatt des Emanuel Hortin, die in beiden Bänden vorhandenen Nummern, die über den 20. März 1730, dem Datum der Widmung hinausgehen, sowie der einzige Index für das Jahr 1728 dafür, dass Emanuel Hortin nach dem 16. Dezember 1730 alle in seinen Beständen vorhandenen Nummern der Zeitung zu möglichst vollständigen Reihen gebunden und als Buch vertrieben hat². Es ist denkbar, dass Stettler auf das neue Jahr hin den Drucker wechseln wollte, denn sehr zufrieden war er wohl nicht mit Hortin³.

² In beiden Exemplaren fehlt der Index, den Stettler zu den zwei ersten Jahren herausgegeben hat nach einer Bemerkung vom 25. März 1730: *lectores admonere volui, me indicem tandem... ad duos priores annos emisisse; qui illius tenentur desiderio, poterunt eum vel a me vel ab iis, ad quos commentarios meos transmittere soleo, petere.*

³ Immer wieder entschuldigt sich Stettler für Druckfehler oder für unzuverlässige Auslieferung der Zeitung.

Zweimal beschäftigen Stettlers *Commentarii* die bernische Zensur⁴. Im Ratsmanuale vom 31. Januar 1729 wird dem Grossweibel der Auftrag gegeben, Hieronymus Stettler »so die Lateinische Zeitung componiert und truken lasst« zu zitieren, da er verbreitet habe, in Augsburg grassiere die Pest. Die Stadt Augsburg habe sich darüber beschwert, da dies nicht den Tatsachen entspreche und ihr aus dieser Falschmeldung »allerhand verdriesslichkeiten zustossen könnten«. Er soll aufgefordert werden, in der nächsten Nummer der *Commentarii* zu berichtigen.

Am selben Tag wird auch der Vorsteher der Postkommission beauftragt, darzulegen »ob under wass conditione Ihm zu bewilligen die Zeitungen zu truken«.

In den *Commentarii* ist nun tatsächlich bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt überhaupt keine solche Nachricht über Augsburg zu finden. In der Nummer vom 28. Dezember 1728 ist lediglich die Meldung zu lesen, in Konstantinopel mindere sich die Auswirkung der Pest; die Vorstadt Pera, Sitz der fremden Gesandtschaften und der Christen, sei überhaupt nicht davon betroffen. Mit Recht wehrt sich Hieronymus Stettler in einer persönlichen Mitteilung in der Zeitung vom 8. Februar 1729 gegen diesen völlig unbegründeten Vorwurf:

Fato quodam accidit, ut malignus ille invidiosus rumor ad ipsos Reipublicae nostrae Amplissimos Proceres grassatus fuerit, me in vulgus publicasse, cum vicina nobis finitimaque loca, tum in primis Augustam Vindelicorum pestilentia laborare, qui rumor, quum falsissimus sit, merito quoque omnis eius mentio silentio a me involuta est, qui a longo iam tempore hoc mihi imperavi ne quid vulgi sermonibus nisi certissimis subnixum testimoniis darem.

Stettler ist also durchaus der Meinung, Leute, die seiner Zeitung nicht wohlgesinnt waren, hätten dieses Gerücht aufgebracht.

Kurze Zeit darnach, am 12. April 1729, beklagt sich die Stadt Basel darüber, dass sie in der Lateinischen Zeitung vor etwa sechs Wochen »empfindlich angezogen worden« sei. Der Grossweibel soll dafür sorgen, dass diese Zeitung nichts melde »was etwan den ständen, sonderlich denen Evangel. in der Eydtgenossenschaft nachteilig oder empfindlich seyn möchte«. Zu diesem Zweck soll er den Buchdruckern bedeuten, dass die Zeitung vor dem Druck zur Prüfung dem Grossweibel vorzulegen sei; sollte das unterbleiben, könne er die Druckerei still legen lassen.

⁴ Vgl. Karl Müller, *Die Geschichte der Zensur im alten Bern*, Diss. (Bern, 1903/4), S. 186/7.

Ebenfalls soll sich der Grossweibel die Nummern der vergangenen sechs Wochen vorlegen lassen und den Drucker allenfalls zur Verantwortung ziehen.

Es fällt auf, dass der Herausgeber der Zeitung, Stettler, hier nicht genannt wird. Der Drucker ist für die Einhaltung der Zensurbestimmungen verantwortlich; ihm werden die geltenden Bestimmungen in Erinnerung gerufen. Doch weshalb fühlte sich der Stand Basel zur Klage veranlasst? Am 22. März 1729 hatte Stettler berichtet:

Basileae: Rei monetariae Curatores adulterinos viliorique metallo vitiatos nummos passim exquirunt summâque id agunt industriâ, ut cives his ex civitate ditioneque Basiliensi eiectis, ad maius negotiationis decus et emolumentum bonis solum utantur. Mulcta 1000 florenorum quae tribus privatis hominibus, qui cum eiusmodi nummis negotiati fuerant, irrogata est, remissa tandem est. Cautum tamen fuit, ut in posterum tempus inexorabili plane lege in sontes animadvertatur.

Die Finanzbehörde der Stadt Basel hat merkwürdige Milde walten lassen gegenüber diesen drei Privatpersonen, die zuerst wegen Handels mit Falschgeld eine hohe Busse bezahlen sollten, welche ihnen darauf erlassen wird unter der feierlichen Beteuerung, in Zukunft werde man unerbittlich das Gesetz gegen Fehlbare anwenden. Das maliziöse Lacheln des Hieronymus Stettler konnte Basel offenbar nicht ertragen.

K. Müller, der erstmals diese beiden Einträge im Ratsmanuale in seiner Geschichte der Zensur im alten Bern teilweise verwendete, glaubte, dass »die schärfere Aufsicht... dem Unternehmen den Todesstoss« (186) gegeben habe. Da die Zeitung bis zum Jahre 1930 verschollen war, konnte er sie nicht zum Vergleich beiziehen. Zudem musste er auf Grund von frühen Lexikonangaben annehmen, sie sei von 1727 bis 1729 erschienen⁵. Nun zeigt es sich aber, dass sie mindestens bis zum 16. Dezember 1730, also nach dem Zensurvermerk noch mehr als anderthalb Jahre ungestört weiter erschien. Nichts weist in der zweiten Phase der Zeitung auf weitere Behinderung hin, ja selbst in der letzten erhaltenen Nummer legt Stettler optimistisch seine weiteren Absichten dar. Die beiden Zensuren zeigen jedenfalls, dass Stettlers Unternehmen weit über die Grenzen Berns hinaus beachtet wurde. Nun findet sich aber im

⁵ Die falsche Jahresangabe geht schon zurück auf Joh. Rudolf Gruners Genealogie der Familie Stettler, der die Jahre 1727 und 28 wohl aus dem Gedächtnis nannte. Sie wurde in die damaligen Nachschlagewerke von Haller und Leu übernommen.

Ratsmanuale, am 29. April 1730, in einer Notiz, die Müller entgangen ist, der ausdrückliche Beweis dafür, dass die Zeitung Stettlers sogar ganz offiziell gefördert wurde:

»Zedell an Mehhl. E.Q. Steiger
Ihr Gnad. habendt geb. Hironimo
Stettler, so die Latinische Zeitung
componiret zu etwelcher bystüür
alls ein pro semel undt ohne
consequentz fünfzig thaler
verordnet, welche er Mhhl
ihme aufrichten Dank verrechnen
werde.

Diese einmalige finanzielle Beihilfe ist doch wohl eine Folge der gesammelten Veröffentlichung der zwei ersten, dem Sigismund Stettler gewidmeten Jahrgänge der Zeitung, die als eine Art Rechenschaftsbericht herausgegeben worden waren. So sprechen alle inneren und äusseren Gründe für ein ungehindertes, ja vom Rat der Stadt Bern wohlwollend gefördertes Unternehmen, das den Namen Berns international bekannt machen konnte.

Es ist also durchaus denkbar, dass über den 16. Dezember 1730 hinaus noch einige weitere Nummern der *Commentarii* erschienen sind, von denen sich aber nichts mehr erhalten hat, was bei Zeitungen dieser Zeit keineswegs ungewöhnlich ist. Vielmehr ist zu sagen, dass die Lateinische Zeitung des Hieronymus Stettler dank der Buchausgabe des Emanuel Hortin in respektablem Umfang überliefert ist. Aus dem zu Beginn notierten Bestand der Zeitung ergibt sich, dass Stettler gelegentlich statt vier nur noch zwei Seiten in der Woche herausgab und, wohl um Platz zu sparen, vom 5. August 1730 an auch keinen Titel mehr anführte. Schon die einmalige finanzielle Beihilfe durch den Berner Rat weist auf Geldschwierigkeiten des Unternehmens hin. Vollends bestätigt wird dies durch eine Notiz in den *Donnstags-Nachrichten* aus Zürich vom 25. Januar 1731, die bisher nicht beachtet worden war: In der Rubrik »Unterschiedliche Nachrichten« lesen wir unter Punkt 2 folgende Meldung:

»Denen Liebhabern und andern Lesern der Latinischen Berner-Zeitungen ins besonder und jederman ins gemein/sol mit dieserem kundt und zuwüssen seyn/dass dieselbe nunmehrö gäntzlich/und dergestalt verblichen/dass sie durch den Druck nicht mehr können gemein gemacht werden. Der Hr. Verfasser und Verleger derselben ist beglaubt/hierum seine wichtige Ursachen zuhaben/und ist

nichts destoweniger des guten Anerbietens dieselbe künftig schriftlich zuverfertigen/um dadurch/was er dem Buchtrucker zahlen müssen/selbst zuverdienen; Vermeint auch/er könne dann in der Spedition derselben/weil sie von ihm allein dependieren werde/desto geflissener seyn. Hat nun jemand Lust/es wider auf disē Weis mit ihm zuprobieren/beliebe nicht nur alsobald sich im Berichthaus anzumelden/sondern auch daselbst zubegehren/dass sein nam in instanti eingeschrieben werde/damit man je nach Beschaffenheit wider gen Bern schreibe/um zuvernehmen/was eigentlich zuerwarten/und ob man des Preises halber übereinkommen könne«.

Diese Todesanzeige ist die letzte Nachricht, die ich über dieses aussergewöhnliche Zeitungsunternehmen finden konnte. Es ist infolge finanzieller Schwierigkeiten eingegangen, nicht aber auf Grund eines behördlichen Eingriffs. Möglicherweise sind bis zum Ende des Jahres 1730 die beiden fehlenden Nummern noch herausgekommen, haben sich aber nicht erhalten, oder aber Stettler war auf andere Zeitungen angewiesen, um seinen Lesern die Mitteilung vom Ende der Zeitung zu machen. Hortin hatte sich möglicherweise geweigert, weiter zu drucken. Ob der erwähnte Vorschlag Stettlers, die *Commentarii* handschriftlich weiterzuführen, noch Interesse fand, ist nicht bekannt ⁶.

III

Berichterstattung und Quellen Stettlers

Am Beispiel der Zeitung vom 11. Januar 1729 soll die übliche Gliederung aufgezeigt werden. Unter dem Titel GERMANICA werden Berichte aus Deutschland über Preussen, Hannover, und Dänemark angeführt, unter ANGLICA solche aus England, Belgien und über die Zustände in Marocco, MOSCOVITICA bringen die Nachricht vom Tode der Schwester des Zaren und melden die Absicht dieses Fürsten, sich mit der ältern Tochter des spanischen Königs zu verheiraten. Unter HELVETICA wird von grosser Kälte berichtet, sodann von den Verhandlungen der Unterwaldner in Stans mit dem Kloster Engelberg, weiter werden die Massnahmen der Behörden genannt, die gegen zahlreiche Diebstähle in Bern getroffen wurden.

Nach diesem Zeitungsnachrichtenteil folgt die Rubrik *Historica ex Republica literaria*, die wiederum nach den Herkunftsländern der Nachrichten geordnet sind. Unter GERMANICA werden zuerst drei Veröf-

⁶ Handschriftlich verbreitete Zeitungen gab es schon vor und neben den gedruckten Zeitungen, vgl. E. Tengström, zit. in Anmerkung 9.

fentlichungen aus Nürnberg, Giessen und Budingen angeführt, unter GALLICA wird von einer wissenschaftlichen Mission nach Konstantinopel berichtet, sowie drei Veröffentlichungen aus Paris werden vorgestellt.

Ueber seine Quellen zu auswärtigen politischen Nachrichten spricht sich Stettler nicht aus. Vermutlich bezieht er sie von ausländischen Zeitungen, die mit der Sonntagspost in Bern eintreffen. So ist eine Bemerkung des Herausgebers wohl aufzufassen:

(2 Nov. 1728) schedae hae in posterum tempus die Martis horâ circiter decimâ haberi possunt: Id eâ causâ a nobis factum est, ut litteris illis, die Dominicâ advolantibus, uti possim, quae alias in proximam hebdomadam forent rejiciendae, sicque nova nostrâ contracto situ obsolescerent.

So ist zu verstehen, dass unter Nachrichten aus Deutschland oder England Berichte über andere Länder zu finden sind, die Stettler aus Deutschland oder England bezogen hat. Gelegentlich weist er auch auf Briefe hin, die ihm zugekommen sind, so bezieht er sich am 3. Dezember 1729 auf einen Brief des Professors Santrocc aus Marburg:

verbis ipsius cel. Authoris utor ex iis excerpta (!) litteris, quas nuper ad me perscripserat;

oder am 14. Dezember desselben Jahres:

excerpta ex litteris Iuris consultissimi viri Basileâ ad me novissime datis.

Aehnliche Bemerkungen finden sich auch sonst gelegentlich, besonders im Zusammenhang mit Veröffentlichungen oder andern wissenschaftlichen Unternehmungen.

IV

Die Verteilung und Verbreitung der Commentarii, deren Auflagenhöhe unbekannt ist, lässt sich, abgesehen von den wenigen erwähnten testimonia aus einigen Angaben Stettlers erschliessen. Sie konnten direkt bei ihm bezogen werden oder in *Bern* zuerst beim Buchhändler Gottschall ⁷, vom 23. November 1728 an beim Buchhändler Kastenhofer:

Commentarii nostri in posterum tempus peti possunt a D. Kastenhofero librario Bernensi

⁷ Stettlers Einleitung, § XI: pretium D. Gottschall librarius Bernensis... significabit.

ebenso 7. Dez. 1728. In *Zürich* waren diese *Commentarii* beim Buchbin-
der Johann Lindinner, einem Bruder des späteren Herausgebers des
erwähnten *Donnstagblatts* erhältlich, der sein Geschäft unter den
Zimmerleuten führte:

17. Mai 1728: *Schedae Tiguri a D. Joh. Lindinner, bibliopego, qui fere medium
urbis angulum incolit, peti possunt.*

In *Basel* konnte man die Zeitung vermutlich bei Thurneysen oder Bischof
finden; das legen mindestens Buchanzeigen dieser beiden Buchhändler
nahe.

V

Schwierigkeiten mit dem Druck der Zeitung

Schon im November (2.11) des Jahres 1728 machen sich für das junge
Unternehmen Schwierigkeiten bemerkbar. Uebelwollende verbreiten das
Gerücht, die *Commentarii* würden schon nach kurzer Zeit eingehen.
Stettler ist aber überzeugt, dass er auf die Mithilfe gebildeter Leute
zählen kann. Er verspricht auf das Ende des Jahres einen Index mit den
Korrekturen der zahlreichen Fehler, die durch die Schuld der Typogra-
phen sich eingeschlichen haben. Zwei Wochen später (16.11) steht fest,
dass er die Buchdruckerei gewechselt hat:

*Num mutato Typographo mendae nihilominus remaneant, tuum erit iudicare,
B. Lector, ... Tamen jure quodam indignor Typographum mercede conductum
res meas me inscio foedis contaminasse manibus, in illis vero exemplis, quae mihi
transmiserat, vacuum rusticum seque autem dignum reliquisse. In patrocinium
vero ejus dictum velim, ipsum non intellexisse, quae aspersit. (!); quorum Author
licet aequè notus mihi sit ac ipse Typographus illumque facile in lucem
protrahere valerem, is tamen intactus nunc a me abeat, seque potius obscuritati
suae involvat; de ceteris vero judices, ad quos iniuria nostra deferetur, sententiam
ferant.*

Als Tatsache aus dieser etwas rätselhaften Geschichte ergibt sich
jedenfalls, dass Stettler mit dem Drucker Gottschalls sehr unzufrieden
war, dass dieser zwar Stettler saubere Exemplare abgeliefert, aber
verschmierte und unleserliche Nummern verschickt hat, und zwar durch
einen anonymen, Stettler aber wohlbekannten Gegner, dazu veranlasst.
Stettler droht, gerichtlich gegen diesen Mann vorzugehen. Der neue
Drucker ist jetzt Emanuel Hortin aus der oberen Druckerei.

Kritiker und Pedanten haben sicher auf jede Nummer gelauert, um

Stettler auf Fehlern zu ertappen. Ungewohnte oder seltene Ausdrücke erklärt deshalb der Herausgeber und belegt sie mit Autorenzitaten, so z.B. am 5. April 1729:

Ne gravissimus umbraticorum doctorum ordo intentatis ferulis contra me insurgat, necessarium duxi verba mea optimorum auctorum munire testimoniis...

VI

Seine *Absichten* hat Stettler in der ersten Nummer der *Commentarii* ausführlich in elf Paragraphen dargelegt, die im folgenden ungekürzt zitiert werden sollen, da wir sonst über die Hintergründe ähnlicher Unternehmungen wenig erfahren können⁸.

Praefamen ad lectorem unumquemque sua laude conspicuum.

I

Ea est omnium mortalium natura, ut, rebus suis insuper habitis aut plane neglectis, aliena tantum curent, omnique studio et opera in id incumbant, quo aliorum dicta factaque nota et perspecta habeant. Huic morbo tantum abest, ut mederi cupiam, quin potius omni arte et certissimis illum nutriam fomentis.

II

Nam cum unaquaeque gens, res per totum terrarum orbem gestas, principum consilia et foedera, immo quicquid aut pace aut bello sollertia hominum egregie expedierat, lingua sua descripta cognoscat, ego nunc praecipue id agam, ut lingua Latina, omnibus gentibus communi, temporis nostri res memoratu dignas ab oblivionis iniuriâ vindicem.

Ausdrücklich erklärt Stettler, dass er die Zeitung lateinisch schreibe, weil dies die Sprache sei, die »allen Völkern gemeinsam« gehöre.

III

Illius enim tanta est majestas, ut Romani, qui olim armorum gloria maxime valuerunt, et summum bellicae laudis fastigium adepti sunt, res pulcherrime et fortiter ab ipsis peractas, eodem splendore et fama posteris traderent, qua illas stupente orbe gesserant.

Die grossen Taten der Römer sind von ihren Geschichtsschreibern in dieser maiestätischen Sprache beschrieben worden.

⁸ Siehe unten: Appendix, Ss. 236-238.

IV

Inde etiam perversum multorum iudicium facile refelli potest, qui Musas Latinas adeo horridas et incomptas esse existimant, ut in lucem sese protrahi minime patiantur, sibi et aliis omnimodo persuadere conantur, illas in scholarum umbrâ et pulvere pavidas consenescere. Has ego nunc, auctoritatem summorum in Germania virorum secutus, per ora hominum, quoad potero ornatas circumduco.

Die lateinische Sprache soll nicht im Staub der Schulen versinken. Gestützt auf die Autorität der bedeutendsten Gelehrten Deutschlands will er die lateinische Sprache für dieses aktuelle Unternehmen verwenden. Es fragt sich, ob Stettler hier an bestimmte Vorbilder, also an andere lateinisch geschriebene Zeitungen denkt, die sich allerdings, soweit wir wissen, beträchtlich von seinen *Commentarii* unterscheiden⁹.

V

Cultum omnem quibus eas induo, petam ex aeternis illis optimorum ingeniorum monumentis, quae ad Antoninorum Caesarum usque tempora longa serie a praestantibus viris fuerant constituta, ita tamen ut summa omnia tribuam Augustaei aevi et antecedentium temporum scriptoribus, qui retentâ nativâ illâ dictionis simplicitate et munditie, in tantum decoris et elegantiae culmen perduxerant Romanam linguam, ut nemo mortalium de majori ejus nitore comparando cogitare auderet. Verum prona ad adulationem servitus, sub Tiberio et subsecutis imperatoribus, optima alioquin ingenia ita deterebat, ut relicta illa sermonis puritate, et corruptis divinis maiorum dotibus, acumina tantum et dictionis frigus adfectaverint.

Seine Sprache soll die des augusteischen Zeitalters sein.

VI

Horum ego vestigia, quamvis impar, legere animus est, licet certus sim non omnia eorum verbis reddi posse, quum multa nostra maiorumque aetate sint inventa, artium, honorum, munerumque nomina, quae Veteres ignorarunt. Ad haec aut talia litteris consignanda utar verbis illis quae longus usus confirmaverat, etiamsi plerumque barbara sint, nec jure civitatis aut Latii umquam donata.

Bezeichnungen für Erfindungen, Künste, Ehren- und Aemtertitel, welche die Alten nicht kannten, wird er mit den seit langer Zeit eingebürgerten

⁹ E. Tengström, »A Neo-Latin Report from Paris«, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 28 (1979), 258-293, besonders S. 286.

Wörtern ausdrücken, auch wenn sie sich nicht aus der Antike belegen lassen.

VII

Praeter illa autem negotia, quae rerum publicarum et civitatum incrementa et damna, obitus et successiones principum, connubia et foedera, potentissimorum regnorum collisiones et cruenta proelia, urbium natura opereque munitarum obsidiones et expugnationes etc. spectant, singulari mentione dignum iudicabimus, quicquid eruditi homines ad perennem nominis sui famam, in quocumque scriptionis genere, recentissima memoria, lucubrarunt, et nisi a nostris studiis abhorreat, iudicium nostrum, etsi alias hebes aut obtusum illud sit, addemus.

VIII

Mortes etiam virorum, quorum magna in rem litterariam merita exstant, additis titulis egregiorum operum, quae olim non sine laude, condiderant, memorabimus. Muneraque academica, quae hactenus vacua, homines doctrinâ pollentes, occupaverant, suo loco non praeteribimus; immo omne quod ad hanc Reipublicae litterariae partem illustrandam pertinere videtur, pro virili parte adjiciemus.

Seine Zeitung soll politische und wirtschaftliche Nachrichten bringen, aber auch alle anderen Ereignisse; besonders aber liegt ihm daran, Bericht zu erstatten über das Leben in der literarischen Res publica. Soweit es ihm möglich ist, wird er auch sein persöpnliches Urteil in Form von Rezensionen abgeben.

IX

Omni data occasione vocum quarundam reconditas proprietates nec satis omnibus expeditas, ex usu praeae latinitatis, adductis probatissimorum autorum testimoniis, evolvemus; quoniam penitior illarum cognitio summum universae linguae momentum adfert. Antiquitates ritusque utriusque principis populi, Graecorum puta et Romanorum, sub finem uniuscuiusque paginae brevissime et quantum instituti ratio fert, subjiciemus.

Ungewohnte Redewendungen wird er erklären und mit Zitaten aus den alten Schriftstellern belegen.

X

Denique, si eventus, lectorumque plausus, spes et vota nostra firma rataque fecerit, omnibus ingenii nervis in id contendemus, ut tota haec tractatio, omni cura, et conquisitis undique praestantissimis subsidiis ornetur. Nam praeter commercia illa quae nobis dudum cum viris doctrinae laude florentibus in Helvetia et Germania intercesserant, aliorum etiam excitabimus studia, plures-

que diversos terrae tractus incolentes in partem curarum vocabimus, modo iis copiis abundant, quae ornamentum aliquod et decus praesenti instituto afferre possint.

Stettler hofft, die Mitarbeit vieler Gelehrter anderer Länder zu gewinnen und so über den Kreis seiner persönlichen Beziehungen mit schweizerischen und deutschen Gelehrten hinaus zu wirken. Er erstrebt also mit seiner lateinischen Zeitung die Universalität der Bildung, oder mindestens eine übernationale, europäische Zeitung.

XI

Singulis itaque septimanis scheda tali formâ evolabit et circumacto anno indices rerum scitu dignarum et sparsim occurrentium subjungemus, totique operi titulum praefigemus. Haec de consilio nostro semel capto praefaminis loco monuisse sufficiant. Pretium D. Gottschall, librarius Bernensis, quod unicuique harum rerum studioso persolvendum erit, significabit; sequetur nunc breve aliquod specimen, quoniam spatiis iniquis exclusus, plura subnectere nequiveram.

Die wöchentlich erscheinenden Blätter bilden, sofern sie gesammelt werden, eine Art Nachrichtenbuch für das ganze Jahr. Daher sind sie für den Jahrgang fortlaufend nummeriert und sieht Stettler einen Index vor. Der Buchhändler Gottschall, der offenbar auch den Drucker vermittelt, wird den Verkauf und die Verteilung an die Hand nehmen.

Dies sind die Absichten, welche Stettler mit seinen Commentarii verfolgt. Soweit es von ihm abhing, sind sie im Laufe der drei Jahre weitgehend verwirklicht worden. Ja er ging sogar noch weiter, indem er eine Zeitlang daran dachte, Abbildungen archaeologischer Funde einzufügen. Am 7. Juni 1728 teilt er seinen Lesern darüber folgendes mit:

... Et cum viri quidam egregii harumque litterarum callentissimi me monuerint, ut erudita antiquitatis monumenta non tantum verbis sed pro occasione aere quoque descripta illustrarem, eorum iudicium quod maximi facio nunc sequar atque interdum talia interspergam; ne autem impensarum onere obruar, X crucigerorum pretium singulis 4 anni vicibus adjiciendum censui.

Doch muss er seine Leser bald enttäuschen. Er findet keinen Kupferstecher in Bern, die Arbeiten aber nach auswärts zu vergeben käme viel zu teuer zustehen. Dies teilt er seinen Lesern schon einen Monat später, am 5. Juli 1728 mit:

Consilium illud, quod dudum de aeneis figuris agitaveram et haud ita pridem

foras exire passus fueram, multis difficultatibus, quae mihi inopinanti objectae sunt, nunc laborare deprehendo. Praecipua est magna illa in vicinia nostra sculptorum penuria insanumque pretium, si longius mitteretur, quae ante hac mihi non praedicta fraudi fuerunt. Illi ergo, qui decem crucigeros expenderant, hisce in redimendo tertio trimestri spatio utantur, pretiumque ad pristinam rationem contractum erit. Nihilominus Helvetiae nostrae prisca monumenta, quae temporis barbarorumque injuria salva et incolumia ad nostram transmisit aetatem, ligneis descripta figuris et quantum artificum operâ peritiâque horum manus assequi valet, elegantibus, absque ulla pretii accessione praestantissimis communicabimus lectoribus, quamprimum aliquid memoriâ dignum nobis oblatum fuerit.

Die Meldungen sind bezeichnend für den Optimismus, mit dem der Herausgeber ans Werk ging, aber auch für seine geschäftliche Naivität. Er erhöht den Preis bevor er überhaupt weiss, wie teuer ihn die Bilder zu stehen kommen, und muss schon nach einem Monat zum alten Bezugspreis zurückkehren. Holzschnitte, die er als Ersatz für die zu teuren Kupferstiche vorsieht, will er gar ohne Mehrpreis d.h. unter Kürzung seiner Einnahmen liefern. Leider ist es aber auch dazu nicht gekommen. Stettlers Unbekümmertheit in finanziellen Dingen sollte sich aber nach einiger Zeit, wie wir gesehen haben, verhängnisvoll auswirken. Aus seinem Vorschlag, die zuviel bezahlte Summe für das dritte Quartal zu berechnen, lässt sich der Bezugspreis der normalen Vierteljahresabonnements feststellen, der sonst nirgends genannt wird. Er betrug 10 Kreuzer.

VII

Einige Ausschnitte aus den Commentarii sollen nun die Themenkreise, die behandelt werden, illustrieren, da sich wohl ein Reprint der ganzen, 525 Seiten umfassenden Sammlung leider aus Kostengründen verbieten wird. Die Schreibweise des Autors soll dabei erhalten bleiben, lediglich Interpunktion und Gross-resp. Kleinschreibung soll den heutigen Textausgaben angeglichen werden.

a. *Politische Nachrichten*

29. die mensis Martii 1728

ANGLICA

Ex Belgio nuntiatur Anglos mirae magnitudinis navem ab Hispanis in bellicos usus constructam atque 60 tormentis, trecentisque militibus onustam intercepisse secumque in insulam Jamaicam traxisse. Quod si verum est, quivis facile perspiciet, quantum uterque populus a sanctissimo pacis foedere adhuc dum abhorreat.

18. die mensis Januarii 1729

GERMANICA

Viennae. 6 Turcae Constantinopoli profecti hic advenerunt; illi Lugdunum Batavorum petunt, ut ingentem typorum copiam, qui ab omni tempore nitidissimi in Belgio fusi fuerunt, coemerent, iisque ad describendos Veterum libros uterentur. Nihil eruditis hominibus et illis inprimis qui litteraturam Orientalem ingenii sui sollertiâ illustrant, gratius unquam contigit. Nam hac ratione non solum rudis antea Turcarum gens et pulcherrimarum artium quae humanitatis nomine censentur, expers, ad elegantiora studia certissimis subnixa praesidiis, traducetur, sed et optimorum scriptorum monimenta densâ multorum saeculorum caligine obsessa, sed protracta in lucem communi usui exponentur.

Turcarum imperator exquisitis honoribus maximisque beneficiis illos ornat, qui varias et longinquas terras ad ingenii cultum capessendum peragrant; licetque Muhamedis legibus, quibus superstitiosae gentis hujus mentes reguntur, peregrinationes illae interdictae sint, verissime tamen Sultanus cum animo suo reputavit, quantum detrimentum civium suorum mores ab hac desidiâ ceperint, qui vero facile politiorum gentium consuetudine et usu mitigentur.

25. die mensis Januarii 1729

GERMANICA

Viennâ accepimus die 10. Decembris immensam pecuniae summam, addito militum praesidio, Tergesten Fiumumque deductam fuisse, ut harum urbium portus, qui diu inculti fere desertique jacuerant, illarum impensis muniti ad certissimum nautarum negotiantiumque usum extruerentur.

Caesar Kelii et Philippiburgi praefectis praeceperat, ut munimenta haec commeatu annonaeque instructa, quanta possent celeritate ad impetum hostium sustinendum omni ratione obvallata firmarentur.

Tanta nivis copiâ et intensissimo frigore pleraeque Germaniae partes, illae inprimis, quae ad Septentrionem vergunt, urgentur, ut lupi macie fameque confecti homines iter facientes adorianur prostratosque misere in frustra minuta discerpant, dentibusque comminuant. Ferae passim algoris insoliti impatientes agrestium hominum tuguria irrepunt; leporesque in agris circum cursitantes altissimae nivi immersae repente obrigesunt.

Marchio Anspacensis, cum Anglicâ principe Carolinâ matrimonii nexibus unitus dicitur.

Albis fluvijs frigore niveque conglaciatus pruinaque concretus est, ita ut glacies homines, equos, currus gravissimaque pondera perferre valeat.

4. die mensis Novembris 1730

ANGLICA

Ex Jamaica, quae Indiae Occidentalis insula est, nuntiatur, Mauros argento emptos, quibus in hac insulâ ad agriculturam saccarique plantationem utuntur, ob mulierum suarum fecunditatem in tantum excrevisse numerum, ut incolis iam ob multitudinem suam metum incutiant, tanto id magis, quod Hispani illos ad seditionem incitent. Quare naves bellicae, quae Hector atque Luisa appellantur, Gibraltarem missae fuerunt, ut cohortem militum inde deducant, Jamaicamque ad coercendos Mauros, si quid tentarent, avehant.

b. *Unglücksfälle, Verbrechen, andere aussergewöhnliche Ereignisse*

7. die mensis Iunii 1728

Bernae

Quinquennium iam circumactum est ex quo Christina Krazer omni cibo, Thorbergae coenobio inclusa lectoque aegra diu jam decumbens, abstinet; et cum ante aliquot annos D. Ziegler Scaphusianus medicinae doctor, lacti aliquid immisceret, eo hausto magnam sanguinis copiam ore nasoque effudit. Per biennium potu adhucdum utebatur, sed interjecto deinde eo tempore, nec hâc amplius uti valuit, cujus loco ora aqua pura proluerat, verum tamen omnem postea humorem, quem ferre non poterat, aversabatur fastidiebatque. Membra corporis illi infirma, ut a sorore, quae illi adsistit, verti moverique oporteat, voce denique debili subobscura verba fundit, saepiusque tamen valido corporis motu concutitur sonorâque voce spectantium animos tantopere percellit, ut mirum sit, quibus subsidiis fulta puella tam vehementem jactationem sustinere valeat.

Tellus itaque haecce ejuscemodi hominum proventu omnibus aliis feracior est, cum jam olim talis muliercula in ea extiterit, quae septennali jejunio orbis miracula auxit. Nemo tamen annonae vilitatem inde augeretur, cum multo plures sint, qui jejunia perosi strenue id agunt, ut Bacchi Cererisque muneribus suos stet honos suumque pretium intemeratum.

9. die mensis Novembris 1728

Tiguri

... Ante aliquot hebdomadas rara ignis species in aere hic visa est, quae ante et post mediam noctem figuram locumque mutavit; Cel. D. Scheuchzer, phaenomenon hocce Auroram Borealem vocat; accurata pleniorque illius promissa est descriptio, quam quotidie editam exspectamus.

28. die mensis Iunii 1729

GALLICA

Studiosi medicinae, qui in civitate, quae a Monte Pessulano nomen habet, arti medicae operam navant, tantâ invicem vehementiâ atque ardore rixabantur, ut stricto ferro in mutuam ruerint caedem atque viscera. multi inde non solum sauciati sed et interfecti sunt, quorum corpora anatomicis dissecanda tradita fuerunt.

4. die mensis Martii 1730

HELVETICA

Bernae, 26. Febr. die

Fur, qui dudum ob infinitas rapinas detestandum nomen adeptus est quique ob manuum versutique ingenii dexteritatem Cartougii olim contubernio non indignus fuisset, in carcerem tractus est. Is diu lictorum odorem sagacitatem, cum in mille formas Protei instar sese mutasset, antehac fefellit. Lepidum vero ac jocularium prorsus illud malum est, quo Judaeum quendam affecit.

Fur ille Saloduri primum urbis diversorium ingressus est, ibique bene pastus stabulum intravit et consensu alieno equo ex urbe celeri cursu profectus est: cum jam aliquot ab urbe stadia vectus fuisset, in Judaeum incidit, qui statim ut gens haec prae aliis emax est, de equi pretio furem appellat, et magnâ tandem pecuniae summâ illum a fure redimit. Hic Judaeum blande amiceque monet, ut Saloduri ad Rubram imprimis Turrim, ita enim diversorium cognominabatur unde furtim evaserat, diverteret, quod caupo hospites non solum singulari comitate excipiat, sed et quod inde migrans haud mediocre pabuli avenaeque copiam, numeratâ pecuniâ a caupone emptam reliquerit, quae commode in equi nunc sui usum cedere possit. Judaeus monitis parens hospitium illud ingreditur, sed equo facile agnito, non solum equo mulctatur, sed et fustibus atque pugnis largiter excipitur, et nisi ex narratione ejus fraus patefacta fuisset in ipsum carcerem, poenas furti daturus, conjectus esset.

10. die mensis Iunii 1730

Bernae

Nono die Iunii statim post mediam noctem atrocissimum in hac urbe incendium excitatum fuerat, cuius crudelitate contigit, ut intra 4 horarum spatium 10 domus, cum in vico, qui a valetudinario nomen habet, tum a parte eius postica, penitus deflagrarint, necdum hora hodierni diei duodecima ignis furor prorsus compressus fuerit. Magna indubie clades non solum vicum aliquem, sed integram forte civitatem afflixisset, si acriore vento incumbente, ignis flamma, quam aqua e syphonibus iugiter emissa, compescebant, ad proximorum aut e regione consistentium aedificiorum consumptionem impulsa incitataque fuisset. Causa tanti mali mulieres, uti iam multorum aliorum exstiterunt, quae dum lin-teorum lotionibus intentae essent, suâque invicem loquacitate semet oblectarent, muri lapides igne, qui ad calefaciendam aquam ligno nimium nutriebatur, tantopere interea incanduerunt, ut proxime adiacentis stabuli foenum et stramenta flammam conceperint, eademque latius posthac eruperit.

4. die mensis Ianuarii 1729

GERMANICA

Mulhausiâ nuntiatur: Sub finem mensis Novembris duo homines hujus civitatis carnificem ex Wirtembergia oriundum, sese populares ejus artisque socios simulantes, adierunt atque cognatorum suorum nomine, de quibus multa retulerant, plurima eum impertierunt salute. Hos lautissimis epulis cenâque in multam noctem protractâ ad hilaritatem atque iocos excitavit, posteroque die, ientaculo large benigneque praebito, hospites suos dimisit. Interiecto dehinc aliquo tempore, cum arcam suam, ut aliquid inde promeret, scrutaretur, summo cum dolore animadvertit nummos suos, quos in meliores usus sibi condiderat, evolasse; erat autem auri argentique subrepti summa 300 thalerorum praeter 12 anulos aureos, qui pecuniae tamquam comites additi fuerunt.

c. Historica ex Republica litteraria

Eine Sektion liegt Stettler besonders am Herzen, die *Historica ex Republica litteraria*. Sie berichtet über Neuerscheinungen, Ehrungen von Gelehrten, Arbeitsvorhaben, aber auch über archaeologische Entdeckungen. Aber Stettler berichtet nicht nur, er will mit seiner Zeitung auch Anregungen geben. Einige Beispiele sollen dies belegen; teilweise kom-

men sie auch in den Länderberichten vor, gehören aber thematisch hieher:

Historica ex Republica litteraria

HELVETICA

Tiguri

Vir ven. atque celeberrimus D.I. Baptista Ott archidiaconus illius urbis commentationem quamdam nuperrime dedit de pavimento tessellato, quod jam anno 1724 in pago, quem Cloten vocant Tigurinique juris est, fuerat erutum, sed haud ita pridem Senatus Amplissimi curâ in bibliothecam civicam illatum est, ne monumentum insigne, et quod nulli in Helvetia secundum, immo omnia reliqua multis modis superat praeter illa, quae Aventici anno 1677 et anno 1704 terrâ fuerant effossa, iniuriâ hominum temporumque intercideret. Litterae quoque cocto lateri insculptae repertae sunt S.C. sive Senatus consulto. Inscriptionem etiam simili cocto latere expressam invenerunt LEG.XI.C.P.F. sive Legio Undecima, Claudia, Pia, Fidelis. Quod sic legendae sint litterae hae fidem facit Dio Cassius L.9. p. 411, 412, qui hic ex Latina versione loquitur: 'Effecit, ut urbanae legiones, Septima et Undecima Claudianae, Fideles, Piaequae a senatu nuncuparentur'. De tessellatis autem et sectilibus eorumque discrimine vid. Casaub. ad Suet. Iul. Caes. p. 63 et Salmasium Exercit. Plin. p. 1214. De hoc vero Tigurinorum tessellato pavimento exstat summi viri Joh. Iac. Breitingeri lucubratio amoenitatibus litterariis inserta. Vasa quoque et instrumenta quaedam tum sacri tum domestici usus inventa, uti duo cultri rubigine corrosi, quibus in sacris ad dissecandas victimas utebantur, quosque veteres secespitas nominarunt. Duo aenei anuli, clavicula quaedam, stilus aeneus quo forte ad scribendum usi fuerunt, aut exta animalium mactatorum tali instrumento scrutati sunt examinaruntque. Fragmina quaedam urnarum sepulchralium. Nummus aeneus Traiani vetustate situque fere consumptus, et argenteus Antonini, Caracallam intelligunt antiquarii. Hujus generis etiam Augustae Rauracorum fuerant pavimenta tessellata reperta, cujus loci eruditae antiquitatis reliquiae, quae etiam num ingenti copia ibi eruuntur, florentissimae olim urbis stupendum splendorem, Romanorumque qui ubivis magnificentiam suam circumtulērunt, sumptuosum luxum satis superque indicant. Ne memorem numismata varii generis, quae Basileae, Bernae alibique in Helvetiâ ad illustrandas plures involutas occultasque historiae partes reposita latent, quae in illis

veterum Romanorum sedibus et vestigiis diversis vicibus fuerant deprehensa.

Dicunt etiam in pago Herzogenbuchsi qui Bernensium imperio regitur, eiusmodi pavementum haud ita pridem fuisse detectum, de quo, cum illud neque viderim neque quidquam, quod ad accuratorem eius cognitionem inquisitionemque pertinet, audiverim, mihi hactenus existimare non licet.

In diesem Forschungsbericht regt Stettler nichts geringeres als ein Corpus Nummorum an, welches alle Zeugnisse auf Münzen für die römische Epoche der Schweiz auswerten sollte.

Ex Republ. litteraria

22. die mensis Martii 1728

BERNAE

... Edidit quoque vir celeberrimus D.S. Scheurer, prof. hujus academiae, dissertationem de Jubilaeo Judaeorum, quam hic in usum exterorum notam facio, quos saepius conquerentes audiveram, res Helvetiorum litterarias nullo studio et indagine cognosci posse.

Die Schlussbemerkung verrät, dass Stettler eine Bibliographie der schweizerischen Wissenschaft seiner Zeit vorschwebt, die er freilich nur in unvollkommener Weise verwirklichen konnte.

7. die mensis Decembris 1728

FLORENTIAE

D. Felici Med. doctor scriptionem quandam Thuscorum linguâ publicavit, qua probare contendit chocolatae potionem exitiosam sanitati plenamque periculorum esse. Verum parvo tempore interiecto D. Ioseph Avanzini medicinae quoque doctor tractationem emisit, qua prioris sententiam confutavit. 4 to, 1728

25. die mensis Maii 1728

GERMANIA

Vir cel. Henr. van Basshuysen tractationes quasdam absolutas confectasque habet:

1ma est de variis Hebraeorum lotionibus earumque mysterio; 2da Systema Antiquitatum Hebraicarum; 3tia denique de Messiâ contra Judaeos, librariumque quaerit, qui eas suis sumptibus typis exscriberet.

Auch sonst gelegentlich macht Hieronymus Stettler auf Manuskripte von Gelehrten aufmerksam, die es verdienen, einen Verleger zu finden. Diese vermittelnde Funktion seiner Zeitung hat er, wie wir gesehen haben, von allem Anfang an im Auge gehabt.

Beispiel einer Buchkritik:

EX ANGLIA

Londini

Arovet Voltairius poeta celebris (!) e Gallia (non ob religionem) profugus librum poeticum 8 cantus habentem in lucem edidit; a Bullingbrockii comite olim variis ex proceribus nostris valide commendatus, trium nummorum aureorum sive Guinearum pretio exemplar, et exemplarium ultra 1500 vendidit. Ad imitationem Virgilii Henrici IV. Galliae regis laudes canit; in regno protestanti apostasiam Henrici commendat, ecclesiaeque seu potius religionis pontificiae panegyricum scribit et tamen cleri Romani furorem optimis coloribus depingit, in ceteris hiulca est eius narratio male ficta, et nec epici nec heroici carminis numeros implet.

VIII

Das Latein Stettlers ist gute Gelehrtensprache des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Er strebt nach klassischem Ausdruck, daher er denn auch für den Schulunterricht die Klassikertexte den zahlreichen, damals im Unterricht verwendeten Schülergesprächen, selbst den Colloquia des Erasmus vorzieht, wie er im einzigen von ihm gedruckten Buch, der Schulausgabe des Eutropius bemerkt, was sich übrigens völlig deckt mit einer Buchbesprechung in den Commentarii¹⁰. Im Tempusgebrauch fällt

¹⁰ *Eutropii Breviarium Romanae Historiae ad Valentem Augustum, mit beygefügter Erklärung worinnen die Historie kürzlich erläutert und die Antiquitäten in zulänglichen Notis erörteret und die eigentl. Bedeutung der Lateinischen Redensarten gründlich gewiesen werden. Nebst einem Lateinischen Register.* Durch Hironimum Stettlerum, Scholae Bernensis Conrect. Bernae apud Albertum Egglin MDCCXLII.

Aus dem Vorwort: *Perversa enim fuerat multorum opinio, veterum Auctorum monumenta, unde tamen omnis sermonis elegantia, unde rerum gestarum memoria, unde sacri profanique ritus unice pendent, difficiliora esse, quam ut in scholis evolvi tractarique possint, contra ea Erasmi Colloquia ob sermonis incredibilem pulchritudinem, et argumenti quod continent jucunditatem, sola hac laude florere, ut in Scholis principatum teneant, Juvenibusque viam muniant, ad eloquentiae latinae gloriam, sine ulla Veterum ope, consequendam: quum tamen mihi per experientiam constet, puriora aurei saeculi monumenta, felicius ac promptius, etiam apud imperitos Juvenes exponi posse, quam vero*

das überaus häufige verschobene Perfekt bei Deponentien und passiven Verben auf, das freilich auch schon gelegentlich im klassischen Latein vorkommt. Möglicherweise spielt bei Stettler das französische *Passé simple* mit, da der bernische Patrizier wohl zweisprachig war. Bei gelegentlichen Fehlern ist es nicht immer sicher, ob es sich um Verstösse des Autors oder des Druckers handelt.

IX

Ueber Hieronymus Stettlers Leben lässt sich nur wenig sagen. Er entstammte einem alten, noch heute blühenden Berner Geschlecht und ist nach Gruners Genealogie der Familie Stettler als Sohn des Emanuel Stettler und der Magdalena geb. Wolf am 24. September 1696 getauft worden. In Bern studierte er Theologie, wo er seine Studien mit einer Dissertation *De libertate conscientiae* abschloss. Im Jahre 1736 wurde er Praeceptor septimae classis der Lateinschule, liess 1742 als corrector der Schule die Eutropausgabe mit deutschem Kommentar drucken. Als Manuskripte bewahrt die Burgerbibliothek Bern von ihm eine Chronik auf sowie *Das gelehrte Schweizerland*, eine Bio-bibliographie der damaligen Schweiz. Einen Ruf als professor eloquentiae nach Petersburg lehnte er ab. Er starb am 25. September 1757. Seine *Commentarii* zeigen ihn als optimistischen, zugriffigen, wohl auch äusserst empfindlichen Menschen, dem es oft gelingt, in das trockene Nachrichtenmaterial köstliche Episoden, gewürzt mit malitiösem Humor, einzubauen. Trotz beachtlicher Unterstützung von seiten seiner bernischen Freunde vermochte der gravissimus ordo umbraticorum doctorum, der seinem Werk neidisch und feindselig gegenüberstand, schliesslich die Prophezeiung vom baldigen Ende der Zeitung zu verwirklichen. Uns bleibt ein Dokument der Universalität des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, das damals schon singulär war, in einem Umfang, der sich bei keinem vergleichbaren Unternehmen findet ¹¹.

Universität Zürich

pervulgata illa Erasmi Colloquia, quae ab ipso non in Scholarum usum, sed ideo conscripta fuerunt, ut seculi sui stultitiam, ac insulam quorundam Monachorum fatuitatem luderet, ac posteritati ridendam propinaret.

Aehnlich sprach er schon in den *Commentarii* (26. April 1729): ... imo ipsa variorum Authorum colloquia aequae in scholis vulgo praeleguntur, si ad gravissima libri huius praecepta comparentur, rectissime et salubriter e juvenum excussa manibus ad tenebras tanquam ad metalla condemnari oporteret.

¹¹ Für Auskünfte und Hilfe danke ich der Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Herrn Dr. Christoph von Steiger, Burgerbibliothek Bern, dem Staatsarchiv Bern, Herrn Emanuel Stettler, Kirchdorf, sowie Herrn Dr. H. Lepper, Aachen.

APPENDIX

Weitere lateinische Zeitungen des 17./18. Jahrhunderts.

Das Internationale Zeitungsmuseum der Stadt Aachen besitzt laut brieflicher Mitteilung des Archivdirektors Dr. H. Lepper folgende Einzelnummern lateinischer Zeitungen: — *Ordinaria Relationis Diariae Continuatio*, zwei Nummern aus dem Jahr 1730, eine Nummer von 1733; — *Extraordinaria Relationis Diariae Continuatio*, eine Nummer aus 1730; beide aus Köln: Petri Theod. Hilden, cum privil. S.C.M.

Aus dem 19. Jahrhundert sind vorhanden: — *Posonienses Ephemerides*, Pressburg, eine Nummer aus dem Jahr 1835; — *Alaudae*, aus L'Aquila, eine Nummer 1893.

Bei Walter Schöne, *Deutsche Zeitung des 17. Jahrhunderts in Abbildungen* (Leipzig, 1940), finden sich Titelblätter folgender drei Zeitungen: a) *Ordinaria relationis historicae hebdomadaria continuatio*; b) *Ordinariae Relationes Anni 1672*; c) *Relationes Latinae et Gallicae*.

Da der zweite Band mit den bibliographischen Angaben nie erschien, wandte ich mich an Die Deutsche Presseforschung, Universität Bremen, um nähere Angaben zu erhalten. Gleichzeitig fragte ich nach andern lateinischen Zeitungen des 17./18. Jahrhunderts des In- und Auslandes. Von Herrn Dr. Elger Blühm erhielt ich folgenden ausführlichen Bericht, den ich bestens verdanke:

»Bei den beiden ersten (S. 205 f.) handelt es sich um Zeitungen der Druckerei Hilden in Köln. Darüber bibliographische Angaben bei Jürgen Blunck, *Die Kölner Zeitungen und Zeitschriften vor 1814, Eine Bibliographie mit Standortnachweis*. Studien zur Publizistik, Bremer Reihe-Deutsche Presseforschung, Bd. 7 (Münster, 1966), vor allem S. 21 ff. Bei Blunck finden Sie auch weitere Literaturangaben über das Kölner Pressewesen. Neuerdings haben sich Exemplare der »Extraordinariae Relationes/Ordinariae Relationes«, Köln: Peter Hilden aus den sechsziger und siebziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts in der Bibliothek des Public Record Office in London gefunden, die Blunck noch nicht kannte. Darüber David L. Paisey, »German Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century in the Public Record Office, London«, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1978, S. 169 ff.

Bei den »Relationes Latinae et Gallicae« handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um eine Zeitung, die in Hamburg von Georg Greflinger herausgebracht wurde. Greflinger edierte neben seinem deutschen Blatt, dem »Nordischen Mercurius«, einige Jahre lang auch fremdsprachige Zeitungen, die er wiederholt als Lernmittel für den Schulunterricht anpries. In der Zentralbibliothek der Deutschen Klassik, Weimar, der früheren Thüringischen Landesbibliothek, befindet sich der Jahrgang 1670 der »Relationes Latinae et Gallicae«, daneben auch andere lateinische Zeitungen, von denen die »Relationes Ordinariae« von 1669 vermutlich auch von Greflinger herausgebracht worden sind. Die Weimarer Bestände sind verzeichnet bei Felicitas Marwinski [Hrsg.], *Zeitungen und Wochenblätter* (Weimar, 1968), S. 457.

In der erwähnten Londoner Bibliothek fanden sich Einzelnummern der

»Relationes Latinae et Gallicae«, ebenfalls von 1670. Darüber der oben genannte Beitrag von Paisey. Wir selbst besitzen aus dem Weimarer Bestand Mikrofilmaufnahmen des Monats Januar von 1670. Greflinger kündigte seine lateinische Zeitung, »von einem berühmten Latinisten zu Cölln verfertigt«, zuerst Ende Juli 1665 in seinem »Nordischen Mercurius« an (s. mein Aufsatz: »Nordischer Mercurius (1665-1730)«, in Heinz-Dietrich Fischer [Hrsg.], *Deutsche Zeitungen des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts*. Publizistik-historische Beiträge, Bd. 2 (München, 1972), S. 98 ff. Vielleicht handelt es sich um einen Nachdruck der Hilden-Zeitung.

Während des 17. und vor allem des 18. Jahrhunderts wurde außer den bereits genannten Zeitungen noch eine ganze Reihe weiterer lateinischer Blätter innerhalb der Grenzen des deutschen Sprachgebiets herausgegeben.

Über die lateinische Presse Wiens, die seit 1671 existiert, unterrichtet Helmut W. Lang, »Der 'Cursor Ordinarius', eine neuaufgefundene Wiener lateinische Zeitung«, *Különlenyomat a Magyar Könyvszemle* (1976), 3. Számából, S. 201-210.

In Breslau veröffentlichten 1695 Primaner des Magdalenen-Gymnasiums, das damals von Christian Gryphius geleitet wurde, eine lateinische Zeitung, »Relationes Hebdomadariae Vratislavienses«, später »Ephemerides Hebdomadariae Vratislavienses«. Darüber Bruno Schierse, *Das Breslauer Zeitungswesen vor 1742*, Phil. Diss. (Breslau, 1902), S. 63 ff.

In Stuttgart reichte der Drucker Paul Treu 1684 beim Rat ein Gesuch ein, die Kölner lateinische Zeitung unter dem Titel »Mercurius Romanus historico-politicus« nachdrucken zu dürfen. Darüber u.a. Rudolf Krauss, »Die ältesten Stuttgarter Zeitungen«, *Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte f. Landesgesch.*, N.F. 23 (1914), S. 370. Die Kölner lateinischen Zeitungen waren im 17. Jahrhundert offensichtlich die bekanntesten und angesehensten, was sich auch darin zeigt, daß Christian Weise ihre Lektüre empfahl.

In Königsberg erschienen von 1719-1723 die »Nova Publica Latina«. Es handelt sich um eine Mischform von Zeitung und Zeitschrift. Ihr Redakteur war Johann Samuel Strimesius, Professor für Eloquenz und Geschichte. Über das Blatt und seine Nachfolger Botho Rehberg, *Geschichte der Königsberger Zeitungen und Zeitschriften*. I. *Persönlichkeiten und Entwicklungsstufen von der Herzogszeit bis zum Ausgang der Epoche Kant-Hamann*. Alt-Königsberg, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Stadt Königsberg <Pr> (Königsberg, 1942), S. 38 ff.

Möglicherweise war diese Königsberger lateinische Zeitung, wie Stieda sagt, das Vorbild für den Rostocker Magister Johann Benjamin Dragheim, der es 1726 unternahm, eine zwei Mal wöchentlich erscheinende politische Zeitung in lateinischer Sprache herauszubringen. Sein Plan scheint aber nicht verwirklicht worden zu sein. Wilhelm Stieda, »Die Anfänge der periodischen Presse in Mecklenburg«, *Archiv f. Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels*, 19 (1897), S. 88 f.

Über die lateinischen Zeitungen Leipzigs unterrichtet Joachim von Schwarzkopf, *Ueber politische Zeitungen und Intelligenzblätter in Sachsen, Thüringen, Hessen und einigen angränzenden Gebieten* (Gotha, 1802), S. 11 f. Er lobt besonders die wöchentlich erscheinenden »Nova Lipsiensia«, von denen sich der Jahrgang 1744 im Besitz des Stadtarchivs Zwickau befindet. Dort ebenfalls lückenhafte Bestände der Jahrgänge 1774 und 1775 der wöchentlichen »Ephemerides Lipsicae«; s. *Sächsische Zeitungen in Bibliotheken, Archiven und Museen des*

Bezirktes Karl-Marx-Stadt. Ein Katalog der Bestände bis 1945, Bearb. v. Jan Pepino (Dresden, 1973), S. 97.

In Hamburg brachte ab 1743 Johann Matthias Käuffelin »Commentarii Hamburgenses« heraus. Über seine Hamburger, Altonaer und Kieler Nachfolger und Nachahmer s. Franz R. Bertheau, *Kleine Chronologie zur Geschichte des Zeitungswesens in Hamburg von 1616-1913* (Hamburg, 1914), S. 31; Rudolf Bülck, *Das schleswig-holsteinische Zeitungswesen von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1789*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, Bd. 16 (Kiel, 1928), S. 136 u. 170 ff.

Nach Reinke, S. 29, soll in Hamburg um 1753 ein Blatt mit dem Titel »Novis Hamburgensibus«, herausgegeben von Christian Westphal, bestanden haben. Reinkes Thema sind die Stettiner Zeitungen. Er nennt die in Stettin wöchentlich erscheinenden »Nova publica«, in denen politische und gelehrte Berichte aus der Feder eines Prof. Denso veröffentlicht worden seien. Gustav Reinke, *Festschrift zur 500 jährigen Geburtsfeier Johannes Gutenbergs im Jahre 1900* (Stettin, 1900), S. 29.

Aus dem 18. Jahrhundert liegen uns weitere Angaben über das Bestehen lateinischer Zeitungen vor, die allerdings zumeist nicht sehr genau sind: so berichtet Balthasar Haug, *Das gelehrte Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1790), S. 11, daß sein früherer Lehrer, Prof. Dreher, 1738 »eine gute lateinische Zeitung schrieb«. In einem Aufsatz »Von den Nürnbergischen politischen Zeitungen«, der in den »Materialien zur Nürnbergischen Geschichte« 2 (1792), abgedruckt ist, wird auf S. 657 gesagt, daß in Nürnberg »ein Versuch mit einer lateinischen politischen Zeitung gemacht worden« sei »und davon ein oder etliche wenige Blätter waren ausgegeben worden«. Nähere Angaben kann der Verfasser, der mit »W« zeichnet, nicht machen. Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, 3. Band (Berlin u. Stettin, 1784), S. 267 f., berichtet von einer in Wien am Dienstag und Freitag erscheinenden lateinischen politischen Zeitung unter dem Titel »Ephemerides Vindobonenses«. Schließlich noch die Mitteilung, daß 1721 in Preßburg die »Nova Posoniensia« erschienen. T. Szalai, »Beiträge zum ungarischen Zeitungswesen«, *Zeitungswissenschaft*, 7 (1932), S. 66.»

MISCELLANEA

1

— Die *Cantilenae* des Macropedius: ein Nachtrag

A. M. M. Dekker, »Three unknown *Cantilenae* Martinianae by Georgius Macropedius: a contribution to the study of the Utrecht *Carmina Scholastica*«, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 23 (1974), 188-227; 24 (1975), 346.

In meinem Aufsatz habe ich sieben *Cantilenae Martinianae* des Macropedius nachweisen können. Ein Fragment einer bisher unbekannten Ode befindet sich in der Königlichen Bibliothek Den Haag (Hs. 121D2/11). H. Giebels war so freundlich mich auf diese Handschrift aufmerksam zu machen (vgl. H. Giebels, *Georgius Macropedius 1487-1558. Een Biografische Schets*, Gemert, 1978, S. 46 u. 71). Das Fragment stammt aus der Sammlung des Jhr. Gerard Johannes Beeldsnijder, Heer van Voshol en Vrije Nes (1791-1853), und wurde 1921 der KB Den Haag vom Rijksarchief Den Haag übertragen. Es handelt sich nicht um ein Autograph des Macropedius, wie Beeldsnijder meinte, sondern um eine zeitgenössische Abschrift, die vermutlich nach einer gedruckten Vorlage angefertigt wurde. Leider sind nur zwei Strophen und der Refrain (*Repetitio*) der Ode erhalten geblieben. Wie in den *Cantilenae* von 1551 und 1552 wird auch in dieser Ode die Geburt Christi besungen. Die Aufschrift der Ode erwähnt keine Jahresbestimmung. Eine Datierung auf die Jahre 1553/1554 erscheint mir aus stilistischen Gründen am wahrscheinlichsten.

Das Blatt (150 × 95 mm) gehörte vielleicht ursprünglich zu den Vorsatzblättern eines Buches, von dem jetzt jede Spur fehlt (siehe Abbildung).

Hier folgt der Text des Fragments:

Ode dicolos tetraastrophos
de nativitate Christi
Autore
Georgio Macropedio

Nobis puellus nascitur
 Creator angelorum,
 Matrisque lacte pascitur
 Rex maximus coelorum.

Repetitio 5 Nostrae saluti parvulo
 Nato canamus parvulo,
 Matremque castam parvuli
 Mariam colamus parvuli.

Nobis puellus nascitur
 10 Ex virgine incorrupta
 Vt matris Haevae tergeret
 Piaculum corruptae.

Nostrae

1-2 Vgl. den Anfang des bekannten Weihnachtslieds »Puer nobis nascitur«:
 Puer nobis nascitur/Rector Angelorum.

7 castam: castram *ms.*

Nostrae ist wohl der Kustos für die *Repetitio*, die nach jeder Strophe wiederholt werden soll.

Alfred M.M. DEKKER

2

— LAURENTIUS BREYNET MARBASIENSIS

550 Jaar Universiteit Leuven (Catalogus, Leuven, Stedelijk Museum, 31 januari-25 april 1976), S. 141-143; Nr. 215 (S. 144); Errata (S. 541).

J. Van Deun hat im erwähnten Ausstellungskatalog eine zweistimmige vokale Komposition für Tenor und Bass des Laurent Breynet aus Marbaix herausgegeben und mit kurzer Erläuterung versehen. Das zweiteilige Werk mit dem Titel *Musica Gratulatoria* ist vom Komponisten, der zugleich den lateinischen Text der Komposition verfasst hat, dem Joannes Sillevoorts, einem Kommilitonen im *Paedagogium Falconis*, zugeeignet. Die Dedikation datiert vom 20. April 1603. Die handschriftliche Quelle befindet sich in der Königlichen Bibliothek Brüssel (Hs. 18373-74).

Ode dicolor tetrastraphob
de nativitate Christi
Auctore Georgi
o Macropedio

Nobis puellus nascitur
Creator angelorum
Matrisq; lacte pascitur
Rex maximus orbis

Repetitio Nostre saluti parvulo
Vultu rana inus parvulo
Matrisq; rastro parvuli
Mariam colamus parvuli

Nobis puellus nascitur
Ex virgine incorrupta
Vt matris hunc turgent
Peculid corrupte
Nostre



Macropedius, Ode de nativitate Christi
(KB Den Haag, ms. 121D2/11)

Wenn man in den Takten 102/103, 105 und 110 der Edition Van Deuns *tempore* statt *semper* liest — eine Emendation die sich auch musikalisch glätter singen lässt —, kann man die folgenden zwei Distichen aus den vielfältigen Textwiederholungen der Komposition destillieren:

I

Bassus ego Breynet mitto tibi pignus amoris.
Tu tenor es, Sillevoorts. Parvula dona tene.

II

Separat aspectus mutuos promotio. Verum
Perpetuo noster tempore crescat amor.

I 2 *tenor-tene*: Wortspiel

Hier sei noch erwähnt, dass die Takte 107/108 und 112/113 in Van Deuns Edition die richtige Lesart *tempore* enthalten.

Mit der Vershälfte *tempore crescat amor* vergleiche man Janus Secundus, *Epist.* I, 11, 60: *Flumina temporibus, tempore crescit amor*. Ovid (*Met.* 4, 60 und *Fasti* I 195) hat *Tempore crevit amor* am Anfang des Hexameters.

Utrecht

Alfred M. M. DEKKER

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEO-LATINUM

apparaverunt

I. IJsewijn, M. de Schepper, G. Tournoy

Appellatio ad auctores :

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neo-latinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

SIGLA :

- BHR* = *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (Genève).
GSLI = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino).
HL = *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Leuven).
RIN. = *Rinascimento* (Firenze).
RQ = *Renaissance Quarterly* (New York).
CULT. MERID. = P.A. De Lisio e.a., *La Cultura Umanistica nell'Italia meridionale : Altre Verifiche* (Napoli, S.E.N., 1981).
SIMONE = *Mélanges à la mémoire de Franco Simone. France et Italie dans la culture européenne. I. Moyen Age et Renaissance*, Bibliothèque Franco Simone, 4 (Genève, Slatkine, 1980).
TARUGI = Giovannangiola Tarugi (ed.), *Ecumenismo della cultura*, 3 vols (Firenze, Olschki, 1981).

1. GENERALIA

1.1 Bibliographica

The Neo-Latin News XXIX (Pennsylvania State U., 1980).

Binns J.-W., "Neo-Latin", *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, 41, 1979 (1980), 23-28.

Adamson N. L., Bartlett K. R., Eisenbichler K., Svilpis J. E., *Humanist Editions of Classical Authors at the C.R.R.S.*, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Occasional Publications, 1 (Toronto, 1979).

Arbour R., *L'Ère baroque en France. Répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires. Troisième partie : 1628-1643.* (Genève, Droz, 1980).

Cranz E. F. - Kristeller P. O. (eds.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum : Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*. Vol. IV. (Washington, D.C., 1980).

Classical authors dealt with are Dioscorides, Paulus Aegineta, Ausonius, Cato Censor, Martialis, C. Plinius Secundus, Carmina Priapea, M. Terentius Varro.

- Dünnhaupt G., *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Barockliteratur: Hundert Personalbibliographien deutscher Autoren des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Erster Teil: A-G (Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1980): i.a. J. V. Andreae, J. Balde, C. Barthius, J. Bidermann, J. Drexel, P. Fleming, A. Gryphius... Zweiter Teil: H-P (1981): i.a. J. Kepler, A. Kircher, J. Lauremberg, J. Masenius, D. G. Morhof, M. Opitz, J. L. Prash. The new edition of the latter's *Psyche Cretica* in *HL*, 17 (1968) is ignored.
- Dünnhaupt G., "Der barocke Eisberg. Ueberlegungen zur Erfassung des Schrifttums des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Aus dem Antiquariat*, 10 (1980), A 441-446.
- Dünnhaupt G., "Barocke Neudrucke: Bemerkungen zum Faksimilieren literarischer Texte", *Börsenblatt f.d. Deutschen Buchhandel* — Frankfurter Ausgabe, nr. 28 (31. März 1981), A 126-128.
- Eisenbichler K., McDonald G., Turner C., *Humanist Editions of Statutes & Histories at the C.R.R.S., Centre for Reformation and Renaiss. Studies, Occasional Publications*, 2 (Toronto, 1980).
- Forster L., *Iter Bohemicum. A Report on German Baroque Literature in Czechoslovak Libraries* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1980) = *Daphnis*, 9 (1980) 2. Important materials i.a. occasional poetry from Germany and the Netherlands.
- Kirk Eugene P., *Menippean Satire. An Annotated Catalogue of Texts and Criticism* (New York-London, Garland Publ. Inc., 1980). List of menippean satires written before 1660 in the languages of Western Europe. Although containing much unknown material, the book suffers from two essential defects. There is no clear definition of 'menippean satire'; hence works such as the *Praise of Folly* and *Utopia* are included, which are by no means menippean satires. Second, the author is not at all familiar with Neo-Latin studies (although Latin is a major language of this kind of writings). Hence he missed such essential books as D. Fleming's critical edition and translation of J. Barclay's *Satyricon*, as well as Fleming's numerous articles.
- Ludwig W., "Report on the State of Neo-Latin Teaching, Submitted to the IIIrd International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies", in *TARUGI*, II, 57-61.
- Öberg J., "Les études latines actuelles à l'université de Stockholm", *ALMA*, 41 (1979), 135-172.
- Sadie Stanley (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols. (London, 1980).
- Totok W., *Handbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*. III. *Renaissance* (Frankfurt a.M., 1980); IV. *Frühe Neuzeit: 17. Jahrh.* (1981).
- Voet L., *The Plantin Press at Antwerp (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1980 sqq.).
- Poetarum neolatinorum Catalogus secundus*. Venalis prostat Monachii Boiorum apud Theodor Ackermann bibliopolam, MCMLXXXI (Ludwigstrasse 7, D-8 München 22). Lists 480 titles, most of them Latin poetry from the early Renaissance to the *Carmina Hoeufftiana*.

1.2 *Historica*

ITALIA

- Batkin L. M., *Die historische Gesamtheit der italienischen Renaissance. Versuch der Charakterisierung eines Kulturtyps* (Dresden, Verlag der Kunst, 1979).
- Folena G. Fr. (ed.), *Storia della Cultura Veneta. Il Trecento* (Vicenza, N. Pozza, 1976). Includes comprehensive surveys with new materials of early humanistic literature at Padova (Guido Billanovich), Verona (R. Avesani), Vicenza, Treviso and Venice (L. Gargan). — Id., *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, a cura di G. Arnaldi e M. Pastore Stocchi, I (1980). Deals with historiography (Flavius Blondus, Bern. Giustinian, Sabellicus, P. Bembo...), the circle of Hermolaus Barbarus, Greek Humanism etc.
- Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento. Aspetti e Problemi. Atti del Seminario 1-2 giugno 1979*. A cura di C. Bianca e.a.; *Indice delle edizioni romane a stampa (1467-1500)*. A cura di P. Casciano e.a., Littera Antiqua, I, 1-2 (Città del Vaticano, Scuola Vatic. di Paleografia, 1981).
- De Lisio P. A., e.a., *La Cultura umanistica nell'Italia meridionale: altre verifiche*, Studi e Testi di Letteratura italiana, XVI (Napoli, Società Editrice Napoletana, 1981). Contains a bibliographical introduction by De Lisio, *L'Italia meridionale e il Rinascimento* (pp. 7-33).

BRITANNIA: ANGLIA/CAMBRIA

- Sammut A., *Unfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani*, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 41 (Padova, Antenore, 1980). The first chapter deals with humanists such as T. L. Frulovisi, P. C. Decembrio etc.; the second describes the Duke's collection of mss.; the third publishes letters and dedications by L. Bruni, Pietro del Monte, A. Beccaria, Lapo da Castiglionchio, Ant. Pacini, R. Talenti, Fr. Pizolpasso, P. C. Decembrio, Simone da Teramo, Zenone Castiglioni, Guarino da Verona, Tomm. Fregoso.
- Davies C., *Latin Writers of the Renaissance. Writers of Wales* (Cardiff, Univ. of Wales Press, 1981). A fine essay on Renaissance Latin authors from Wales. Authors discussed are the grammarian J. Davies, S. D. Rhys and H. Salesbury, the geographer H. Llwyd, the historians D. Powel and J. Prise, the poets J. Owen and J. Stradling.

GERMANIA

- Spitz L. W. (ed.), *Humanismus und Reformation als Kulturelle Kraefte in der deutschen Geschichte. Ein Tagungsbericht* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1981).
- Haase C., "Die Lateinschule in Niedersachsen von der Reformation bis zur napoleonischen Zeit. Versuch eines Ueberblicks", *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch*, 51 (1979), 137-194.
- Schindling A., "Humanistische Reform und fürstliche Schulpolitik in Hornbach und Lauingen", *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt*, 133 (1980), 141-186.

POLONIA

- Zabłocki St., "Mittelateinischer Klassizismus des 12. Jahrhunderts in der Polnischen Frührenaissance", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 26 (1978), 7-19.

MEXICO

- Osorio Romero Ign., *Colegios y profesores Jesuitas que enseñaron Latín en Nueva España (1572-1767)*, Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 8 (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1979). A history and a wealth of unedited or little known texts.
- Id., *Floresta de gramática, poética y retórica en Nueva España (1521-1767)*, Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 9 (Universidad Nac. Autónoma de México, 1980).

ROMANIA

- Cândeă Virgil, "Historiographie de l'humanisme roumain", in *Nouvelles Études d'histoire*. Publiées à l'occasion du XV^e Congrès international des Sciences historiques, Bucarest 1980. Vol. 1 (Bucuresti, Editura Academiei, 1980), pp. 191-209.

1.3 Litteraria

- Cave T., *The Cornucopian Text. Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1979). The first part deals with general problems such as "copia verborum", imitation, "lingua" etc. and draws largely on texts of R. Agricola, Erasmus e.a.
- Fumaroli M., *L'Age de l'Éloquence. Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque moderne*, Hautes Études médiévales et modernes, 43 (Genève, Droz, 1980). Essential to 17th-century studies.
- Kühlmann W., "Apologie und Kritik des Lateins im Schrifttum des deutschen Späthumanismus. Argumentationsmuster und sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge, *Daphnis*, 9 (1980), 33-63.
- Schmidt P. G., "Mittelalterliches und humanistisches Städtelob", in A. Buck (ed.), *Die Rezeption der Antike* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 119-128.
- Wallner G., "Medicorum latine scribentium exempla duo", *Latinitas*, 29 (1981), 142-148. About William Harvey (Folkestone 1578-London, 1654) and Thomas Sydenham (Dorset 1624-London 1689).

1.4 Linguistica

- Acera F. M., "Las preposiciones latinas en tres escritores hispanos del s. XVI", *Durius*, 5 (1977), 55-92.
- Gross N., "De nomenclatione Latina doctrinarum naturalium", *Latinitas*, 29 (1981), 129-141.
- IJsewijn J., "Mittelalterliches Latein und Humanistenlatein", in A. Buck (ed.), *Die Rezeption der Antike* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 71-84.
- See also : *Instrumentum lexicographicum* hereafter.

1.5 Thematica

- Buck A. (ed.), *Die Rezeption der Antike. Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance. Vorträge ... des 1. Kongresses ... Wolfenbüttel*

- 1978, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 1 (Hamburg, E. Hauswedell, 1981).
- ADAGIA: Gross K., 'Numquam minus otiosus quam cum otiosus. Das Weiterleben eines antiken Sprichwortes im Abendland', *Antike und Abendland*, 26 (1980), 122-137. Deals i.a. with Petrarch, Erasmus and Cornelius Musius of Delft (1500-1572), *Encomium solitudinis*.
- AESCHYLUS: Gruys J. A., *The Early Printed Editions (1518-1664) of Aeschylus. A Chapter in the History of Classical Scholarship*. Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica, 32 (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1981). A bibliographical description and philological analysis of all complete or partial Aeschylus editions between the ed. princ. by F. Asulanus (Venice, 1518) and those of T. Stanleius (London, 1663; 1664), including Coriolanus Martyranus' Latin adaptation and H. Grotius' excerpts. Many texts (translation specimens, insertions, prefaces etc.) are added in facsimile transcriptions. We wonder if it is worth while reproducing old typographical abbreviations!
- AESOPUS: Mombello Gianni, "La Vie d'Esope tradotta da Antoine du Moulin", in SIMONE, pp. 157-179. Discusses the *Vita Aesopi* by Rinuccius Aretinus, Aldus Manutius, Raphael Volaterranus and their French translation.
- APHTHONIUS: Margolin J.-Cl., "La rhétorique d'Aphthonius et son influence au XVI^e s.", in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Colloque sur la rhétorique. Calliope I* (Paris, 1979), pp. 239-269. — Id., "Sur quelques exemplaires des *Progymnasmata* d'Aphthonius conservés dans des Bibliothèques parisiennes", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1979), 228-240. Deals with the spread of rhetoric in 17th-century France.
- CEBES: *Cebes' Tablet. Facsimiles of the Greek Text, and of Selected Latin, English, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, and Polish Translations*. Introduction by Sandra Sider (New York, The Renaissance Society of America, 1979). The Latin translations included are by Ludovicus Odaxius of Padova (Paris, 1498 etc.) and Hieronymus Wolfius of Oettingen (Basel, 1561).
- CICERO/TACITUS: Salmon J. H. M., "Cicero and Tacitus in Sixteenth-Century France", *The American Historical Review*, 85 (1980), 307-331.
- HORAPOLLO: Aulotte Robert, "D'Égypte en France par l'Italie: Horapollon au XVI^e siècle", in SIMONE, pp. 555-572. Renaissance interest in the *Hieroglyphica*.
- ORIGENES: Schär M., *Das Nachleben des Origenes im Zeitalter des Humanismus* (Basel-Stuttgart, Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1979).
- SENECA: Roncali Renata, "L'*Apocolocyntosis* nel Cinquecento: da Erasmo all'elezione di Enrico IV", *Quaderni di storia*, 11 (1980), 365-379.
- PHAEDRUS: Bertini F., "Fortuna medievale ed umanistica della favola dell'asino e del cinghiale (Phaedr. I 29)", in *Letterature comparate. Problemi e metodo. Studi in onore di E. Paratore* (Bologna, 1981), pp. 1063-1073. Humanist authors dealt with are G. Faernus, Laur. Abstemius, Joachim Camerarius.
- LUCIANUS: Mattioli E., "I traduttori umanistici di Luciano", in *Studi ... R. Spongano* (Bologna, M. Boni, 1980), pp. 205-214. Limited to Italian humanists! — Robinson Chr., *Lucian and His Influence in Europe* (London, Duckworth, 1979). The Chapter II: *The Later Influence*, § 3 *Northern Europe*

deals with theatre, satirical dialogue, the imaginary voyage and dialogues of the dead. It discusses such Latin authors as T. Livius de Frulovisiis, J. Gretser S.J., Hutten, Th. More and L. Holberg. A special chapter is devoted to Erasmus.

NASSOVIAE COMES: Catalogus: *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht: Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679*. (Kleve, Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek, 1979). Includes interesting contributions on Neo-Latin poetry (Plante, C. Huygens) and scientific literature concerning Brasil, viz. [Guilielmus Piso, Georgius Marggraf & Johannes de Laet], *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (Leiden-Amsterdam, 1648); G. Piso, *De Indiae utriusque re naturali et medica libri XIV* (Amsterdam, 1658); G. Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi gestarum sub praefectura I. Mauritii Nassoviae Comititis* (Amsterdam, 1647).

ORLANDUS LASSUS: Leuchtman Horst, *Orlando di Lasso. Sein Leben. Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme der biographischen Einzelheiten*, (Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976), pp. 264-296: 'Gedichte an Lasso, von Lasso und Lasso betreffend' i.a. Latin poems by J. Auratus, J.J. Boissardus, Ph. Brasseur, Jac. Gohorius, J. Lauterbach, J. Pollet, N. Reusner, J. Rycquius, N. Stopius, C. Utenhove.

1.6 Scientifica

Farge J.K., *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology 1500-1536*, Subsidia Mediaevalia, 10 (Toronto, Pontif. Inst. Mediaeval Studies 1980). Several of these doctors are important for Neo-Latin studies in general such as the grammarian J. Finet or the poet Valerand de la Varanne.

2. POETICA

2.1 Generalia

Baumann V., "De Russorum latinitate", *Vox latina*, 17 (Saarbrücken, 1981), fasc. 63, pp. 34-41. A Latin paraphrase of Berkov's study (1966-67) of 17th-century Latin poets in Russia and Ukraine: S. Polockij, St. Javorskij, Th. Prokopovič and Th. Lopatinskij.

Briesemeister D., "Sur les origines de la poésie néolatine au Portugal dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 26 (1980), 45-61.

Cooper Richard, "Two figures from the *Regrets* in Italy with the Du Bellays: Girolamo della Rovere and Jean de Morel" in SIMONE, pp. 481-501.

Hartley D.J., "La célébration poétique du traité du Cateau-Cambrésis (1559): document bibliographique", *BHR*, 43 (1981) 303-318. Poetical *plaquettes*, i.a. Joannes Stemmonius, *De bello sedato* (Rhemi 1559).

Hausmann Fr.-R., "Neulateinische Anthologien", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 5 (1981), 30-34. Forschungsbericht.

Hutton, J., *Essays on Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Rita Guerlac (Ithaca-London, 1980). Collected articles.

- Leygyel A., "Il contributo di Poliziano ed altri Umanisti Italiani allo sviluppo del Quattrocento italiano in Buda", in TARUGI, I, 67-72.
- Michel A., "Pierre Damien, Marulle, Budé: l'hymne du moyen âge à la renaissance", in TARUGI, III, 159-169.
- Prete S., "L'Epigramma nel Quattrocento — Osservazioni", in TARUGI, III, 215-226.
- Schäfer E., "Der deutsche Bauernkrieg in der neulateinischen Literatur", *Daphnis*, 9 (1980), 1-31. Deals with Euricius Cordus (*Bucolicon*, *Anti-lutheromastix*), Eobanus Hessus (*De tumultibus horum temporum querela*), Ioh. Atrocianus (*Elegia de bello rustico*), J. Sleidanus (*De statu ... commentarii*), Christoph. Schraderus (*Dispositiones oratoriae*, Helmstadt, 1674), Ioh. Tethinger (*Wirtembergiae libri II*), Laur. Pilladius (*Rusticias*, Metz, 1548), Hermannus Schottenius (*Ludus Martius*) and Melchior Barlaeus (*Bucolica*). All but the last two works support the view of the victorious nobility.
- Smolak K., "Der verbannte Dichter (Identifizierungen mit Ovid in Mittelalter und Neuzeit)", *Wiener Studien*, N.F. 14 (1980), 158-191. Neo-Latin poets mentioned: A. Politianus and D. Baudius.
- Stawecka Krystyna, "La poésie religieuse latine du XVII^e siècle en Pologne", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 26 (1980), 63-72.
- Stracke Margarethe, *Klassische Formen und neue Wirklichkeit. Die lateinische Ekloge des Humanismus*, Romania Occidentalis, 2 (Wiss. Verlag A. Lehmann, Gerbrunn bei Würzburg, 1981). A literary study of Boiardo, B. Mantuanus, J. J. Pontanus and Sannazarus.
- Tournoy-Thoen Godelieve, "Les premiers épithalames humanistes en France", in SIMONE, pp. 199-224. With texts by Johannes Michael Nagonius, Ludovicus Helianus and Remaclus Arduenna.
- Traina A., "Antologie umanistiche", *Rivista Filologia Istruzione Classica*, 108 (1980), 371-378. With many notes of textual criticism. Presents A. Perosa-J. Sparrow and P. Laurens-Cl. Balavoine.
- Weber Henri, "Prométhée et les tourments de l'amour dans la poésie de la Renaissance: de Marulle et Sannazar à la Pléiade" in: SIMONE, pp. 371-389. Marullus, Sannazarus and the Prometheus theme in French Renaissance poetry.

2.2 *Poetae*

- ADDISON JOSEPH (Lichfield 1672-London 1719): Williams R.D.-Kelsal M., "Critical Appreciations. V. Joseph Addison, *Pax Gulielmi auspiciis Europae reddita*, 1697, Lines 96-132 and 167-end", *Greece and Rome*, 27 (1980), 48-59.
- ALABASTER GULIELMUS (Hadleigh, 27.II.1567/8 — Little Shelford 1640): Binns J. W., "The Date of William Alabaster's Birth", *Cahiers Élisabethains*, nr. 18 (Oct. 1980), 71-72.
- ALDEGATUS MARCUS ANTONIUS (Mantova, ca. 1450-Ravenna? post 1505): Bottari G., *Marcantonio Aldegati, poeta latino del Quattrocento*, Studi e Testi del Centro di Studi Umanistici, 3 (Messina [Il Vespro, Via degli Orti 41,

- Palermo], 1980). Poetae vita et opera diligentissime explorantur carminumque specimina nunc primum typis describuntur. Opera haec sunt: *Cynthia, elegiarum libri III* (ca. 1471); *Elegiarum libri IV* (ca. 1488: *de Fulvia*; insunt versiones Theocriti, *Id. XIII* et Moschi *Amoris Fugitivi*); *Gigantomachiae libri XII* (ca. 1505); *Herculeis* (periit).
- ALENUS ANDREAS (Herk-de-Stad, ca. 1520-Hasselt, 30.VII.1578): Alenus W.D.F., *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de familie Alen van Herk-de-Stad, alias Alenus (XVIde eeuw)*. (Herk-de-Stad, Uitgeverij Mikron, 1979). Biographical information on the author of *Sacrarum heroidum libri tres* (Lovanii, 1575).
- ALSOP ANTONIUS (1672-1726): Kaiser L. M., "Solution of a Minor Mystery", *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, 91 (1979), 212-213. De fortuna versus Alsopiani "Incerti generis: bos, fur, sus sive sacerdos".
- ANGERIANUS HIERONYMUS (Ariano Irpino, ca. 1470-Napoli?, 1526/35): Martelli S., "Poesia e potere: il *De miseria principum* di Girolamo Angeriano", in *CULT. MERID.*, pp. 75-102.
- ANONYMUS RHENANUS (11/21.V.1543?): De Kroon M., "*In Christophorum quendam Buceriastrum epigramma. Eine Schmähschrift aus der Zeit der Kölner Reformation (1543)*", in M. De Kroon et M. Lienhard (eds), *Horizons européens de la Réforme en Alsace. Das Elsass und die Reformation im Europa des XVI. Jhs. Mélanges J. Rott* (Strasbourg, Istra, 1980), pp. 253-266. New edition of an elegiac poem against M. Bucer, "servus diaboli".
- ARENA ANTONIUS: Mullally R., "The editions of Antonius Arena's *Ad suos Compagnones Studentes*", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1979), 146-157. Macaronic verse.
- AUDOENUS (OWEN) JOHANNES: Laurenson J., "A Pasquinade for John Owen", *Notes and Queries*, 224 (1979), 403-405. Establishes Owen's death in late 1622 (as against Martyn, 1627-28); the epitaph of his lost tomb in St. Paul's.
- BALBUS HIERONYMUS (Venezia, ca. 1450-Roma?, post 1530): Tournoy-Thoen Godelieve, "La tecnica poetica di Girolamo Balbi", in TARUGI, I, 101-123. Confirms beyond doubt Balbi's massive plagiarism of Octavius Cleophilus, T. V. Strozza and F. Andrelinus.
- BALDE JACOBUS S.J.: Hess G., "'Fracta Cithara' oder Die zerbrochene Laute. Zur Allegorisierung der Bekehrungsgeschichte Jacob Baldes im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1980), pp. 605-631. — Kranz Gisbert, "Zu Jacob Baldes Bildgedichten", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 60 (1978), pp. 305-325.
- BAPTISTA MANTUANUS: Rosa R., "Il poema *Sulle calamità dei tempi* di Battista Spagnoli Mantovano", *Carmelus*, 26 (1979), 112-136.
- BARTOLI ALFREDO (Le Piastre, 1872-Firenze, 1954): Sinopoli N., "In biblioteca per Alfredo Bartoli", *Calabria letteraria, artistica, turistica*, 29 (1981), 13-16.
- BAVARUS CONRADUS (Halle 1571-1643): Paisey D. L., "The *Officina Poetica* at Leipzig, 1619-1623", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1979), 205-209. Bavarus, professor of Poetics at Leipzig (1607-1630) had a press from 1618-1623 specializing in Neo-Latin occasional poetry.

- BERONICIUS P. J. (†Middelburg, 1673): De Vet J. J. V. M., *Peter Rabus* (1660-1702) (Amsterdam, Holland U.P., 1980), pp. 57-58; 248-249. Rabus is the editor and (a Dutch) translator of the burlesque epic *Georgarchontomachia sive Expugnatae Messopolis libri II* (Rotterdam, 1691).
- BOCHIUS JOHANNES: see hereafter: HAEMUS.
- BOYUS (BOEY) CORNELIUS (Holland, 1611-1665): Tournoy G., "Twee ongepubliceerde gedichten bij portretten van Erasmus en Thomas More", in J. Veremans (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Prof. Dr. G. Degroote* (Brussel, 1980), pp. 159-165. With text of an epigram (1645) "in effigiem Erasmi meditantundam ab Holbenio pictam", from ms. Sloane 2764 (B.L.), f. 37^r.
- BRANT SEBASTIANUS: Müller J. D., "Poet, Prophet, Politiker: Sebastian Brant als Publizist und die Rolle der laikalen Intelligenz um 1500", *Lili: Zeitschr. f. Literaturwiss. und Linguistik*, 10 (1980), pp. 103-127. — Ochsenbein P., "Sebastian Brants literarische Polemik gegen den Beitritt Basels in die Eidgenossenschaft", *Daphnis*, 9 (1980), 427-443.
- BRAYE ROGERIUS: see hereafter: HAEMUS.
- BRIXIUS GERMANUS: Stone D., Jr., "The *Herveus* of Germanus Brixius", *HL*, 29 (1980), 176-193. Critical edition.
- BUCHANAN G.: McFarlane I. D., *Buchanan* (London, Duckworth, 1981). The standard biography for many years to come.
- BUDÉ G.: see 2.1 (A. Michel).
- CAESARIUS IANUS/IOHANNES PAULUS (Castiglione Cosentino, ca. 1506-Roma, 1568?): Giordano E., "Giano Cesario", in *CULT. MERID.*, pp. 123-136. Author of *Varia Poemata et Orationes* (Venice, 1562) and *Orationes et Poemata* (Rome, 1565).
- CALENTIUS ELISIUS (1430-1502/3): *Poemata*, a cura di M. de Nichilo, Biblioteca di Critica e Letteratura, XVII (Bari, Adratica Editrice, 1981). Critical edition of *De bello ranarum croacus libellus* and *Hector libellus*.
- CALLIMACHUS EXPERIENS PHILIPPUS: Casarsa Laura, "Callimaco Esperiente e Gilberto (e Marco Antonio) Grineo: un caso di plagio", *Metodi e ricerche. Rivista di studi regionali*, 1 (Udine, Editrice Grillo, 1980) 43-84. A study of the Ferrarese poets Gilbert and Marco Grineo as plagiarists of Callimachus' epigrams. With a complete list of incipits of the unpublished poems of the Grinei and the text of the 24 epigrams they copied from Callimachus.
- CAMERARIUS IOACHIM: see hereafter: RUBIGALLUS.
- CARO MICHAEL ANTONIUS (Bogotá, 1843-1909): Vismara Marisa, *La poesia latina di Miguel Antonio Caro* (Milano, Univ. Cattolica: Vita e Pensiero, 1980). A good study of Caro's Latin work.
- CELTIS C.: Wuttke D., "Dürer und Celtis. Von der Bedeutung des Jahres 1500 für den deutschen Humanismus", *Journal Medieval and Renaiss. Studies*, 10 (1980), 73-129.
- COCHANOVIVS JOHANNES: Hoepp W. e.a. (edd.), *Jan Kochanowski, Ausgewählte Dichtungen* (Leipzig, Reclam, 1980). The first part (pp. 33-73) is devoted to the Latin poetry (in German translation and in part also in the Latin original).
- CORRARIUS GREGORIUS: Casara L., "Contributi per la biografia di Gregorio Correr", Università degli Studi di Trieste: *Miscellanea* 1 (1979), 29-88.

- CRABEELS JUDOCUS (Overijse, 9.XII.1743-4.II.1812): Judocus J. C. A. Crabeels, *Odae Iscanae — Schuttersfeest te Overijse (1781)*. Uitgegeven door J. IJsewijn, G. Vande Putte & R. Denayer, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia III* (Leuven U.P., 1981). Edition with Dutch translation of 9 Latin Odes celebrating a shooting festival at Overijse, Brabant.
- CRASHAW RICHARD: Williams G. W., "Crashaw's Epigrams on the Young Christ in the Temple", *Seventeenth-Century News*, 39 (1981), 8-9. Four Latin and one English poems, dated 1632-35.
- DE BONIS IOHANNES (Arezzo, 13 ...; fl. Genova, Milano (1390 sqq.)): Vinchesi Maria A., "Versi nuovi di Corippo in imitazioni inedite dell'umanista Giovanni de Bonis", *Rivista Filologia Istruz. Classica*, 108 (1980), 292-316. De Bonis uses extensively C. in his (unedited) poems, i.a. *eclogae I (Ianua)* and *VI (Laus Mediolani)*, and the epic *Viscontina* on a victory of Giangaleazzo Visconti (Mss., Milan, Trivulz. 675 and 860, both autographs).
- DE CULEO JUSTUS: See hereafter: HAEMUS.
- DEDEKINDUS FRIDERICUS (Neustadt 1525-Lüneburg, 1598): Friedrich Dede-kind, *Grobianus: de morum simplicitate* [libri II]; *Grobianus: von groben Sitten und unhöflichen Gebärden*. Deutsche Fassung von Caspar Schneidt. Mit einem Vorwort zum Neudruck der Texte von Barbara Könneker (Darmstadt, Wissensch. Buchgesellschaft, 1979).
- DU BELLAY JOACHIM: Hartley D.J., "A little-known Latin Poem by Joachim Du Bellay", *BHR*, 41 (1979), 341-348, "In laudem Hieronymi Roborei Tholon. Episcopi", (1559). — Lloyd-Jones K. "L'originalité de la vision romaine chez Du Bellay", *Bulletin de l'Association d'Étude sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance (France du Centre et du Sud-Est)*, 6 (1980), nr. 12, p. 13-21; with a reaction by Demerson G., 'Joachim Du Bellay et ses deux Muses, *id.*, 7 (1981), nr. 13, pp. 35-40.
- EPICURUS MARCUS ANTONIUS (Avezzano?, 1472-Napoli, 1555): Falco R., "Marc'Antonio Epicuro", in *CULT. MERID.*, pp. 103-121.
- ERASMUS DESIDERIUS: Van Der Blom N., "Over twee versjes van Erasmus (1-2)", *Hermeneus*, 53 (1981), 29-31 and 212-214. Proposes to identify the "lumine captus" of epigram 49 (Reedijk) as the scribe Petrus Meghen "unoculus".
- FAVOLIUS H. (Middelburg, 1523-Antwerpen, 1585): Vide: REUSNERUS.
- FEKETE DEMETRIUS (fl. Romania, ca. 1878): Vasile Alecsandri, *Cântecul Gintei Latine. MDCCCLXXVIII-MCMLXXVIII* (Bucuresti-Avignon, Vita Latina, 1978) Various translations of a poem of the Rumanian poet V. Al. (1821-1890), the Latin one by D. Fekete (1878).
- FLAMINIUS M. A. (1498-1550): *Lettere*, ed. A. Pastore (Rome, 1978). — Pastore A., *Marcantonio Flaminio: fortune e sfortune di un chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Milano, 1981).
- GALDI MARCO (Pregiato di Cava dei Tirreni, 24.IX.1880-S. Giuseppe Vesuviano, 15.V.1936): *Versi Latini, con una appendice bibliografica a cura di Maria Teresa d'Ambrosio. Premessa di M. Miglio* (Cava de' Tirreni, Studio Kappa, 1980).
- GEOLOS SIGISMUNDUS: See hereafter: RUBIGALLUS.
- GROTIUS GUILIELMUS (Holland 1597-1662): *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber decimus carmine iambico senario versus, auctore Guilielmo Grotio, editus a*

- P.P. Witkam (Den Haag, Cristal-Montana, 1980). G. is the brother of Hugo Grotius.
- GROTIUS HUGO : Eyffinger A. C. G. M., *Grotius Poeta. Aspecten van Hugo Grotius' dichterschap*. (doct. Diss. Univ. Amsterdam, 1981). This dissertation collects articles previously published (in *Oud-Holland* and *Lias*) and a new chapter on the genesis of the 1617 *Poemata Collecta*. Orders can be sent to the author at the address Laan van N.O. Einde, NL-2274 EG Voorburg, The Netherlands. Postal account 2358735 Arnhem (Price : Hfl. 45 + 5 postage).
- GRYNEUS GILBERTUS (Ferrara, ca. 1439?-Capodistria, ca. 1502) et MARCUS ANTONIUS (ca. 1475 - Gemonia, ca. 1550) : Vide : CALLIMACHUS EXPERIENS.
- HAEMUS (HEEME) FRANCISCUS (Lille 1521 - Kortrijk 1585) : De Man R., "André Pevernage en Kortrijk (1543-1591)", *Handelingen Kon. Geschied- en Oudheidk. Kring Kortrijk*, N.R. 44 (1977), 3-42. Haemus contributed several texts of P.'s *Cantiones aliquot sacrae* (Douai, 1578). These poems (also included in Haemus' *Poemata*, Antwerp, 1578), are printed in appendix together with a letter to the abbot Joh. Loaeus, two poems of Rogerius Braye (Kortrijk, ca. 1550-1632; author of *Poemata sacra*, 1627) and one of Johannes Bochius (Boghe, not Le Boucq! Brussels 1555 - Antwerp 1609), to whom Gruterus' *Delitiae poetarum belgicorum* are ascribed (!). Haemus is also dealt with in De Man's next article : "De eerste Jezuïeten te Kortrijk. Jan David, eerste rector", *Id.* 45 (1978), 237-281. Other poets dealt with or mentioned here are R. Braye, Johannes Silvius (Lille, 15??-21.X.1579), author of a drama *Isaacus Xilophorus* (Ieper, 1554, but ignored by De Man), and Justus de Culeo = De Cuyle, author of *Orationes, Epistulae et Carmina* (Antwerp, 1613).
- HASSENSTEINIUS A LOBKOWICZ BOHUSLAUS : Martinek J., "Bohuslaus von Lobkowicz und die Antike", *Listy Filologické*, 103 (1980), 24-30. See also : 4.2 Scriptores pedestres.
- HUTTENUS ULRICUS : Schubert E., "Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523)", *Fränkische Lebensbilder*, 9 (1980), 93-123.
- ILLICINUS PETRUS (Siena, 1504-1582) : Blachowitz Krystyna, "The Idyll by Pietro Illicino. Edition and Introduction", *Eos*, 67 (1979), 339-346. *Idyllium in laudem Samuelis Cracoviensis ecclesiae antistitis* (Krakow, 1547).
- ITURRIAGA JOSEPHUS MARIANUS S.J. (Puebla, 26.IV.1717 - Bologna, 22.I.1787) : José Mariano de Iturriaga, *La Californiada*. Transcripción paleográfica, introducción, versión y notas de A. Castro Pallares, Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 7 (México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1979). An epic poem on the christianisation of California, written 1740 in Mexico.
- JOHANNES DE VERGILIO (fl. Bologna, ca. 1320) : Krautter K., "Der 'Diaffonus' des Giovanni del Virgilio: mittelalterliche Liebesallegorie und humanistische Klassikerimitation in lateinischen Elegien des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts", in A. Buck (ed.), *Die Rezeption der Antike* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 129-144.
- KARAMANEO MATIJEŠEVIĆ ANTONIUS (Vis, 1658-1721) : Allison W.H. & Schnur H.C.(†), "Antun Karamaneo's *Carmen ad Jac. Candidum* and the Hvar theatre", *HL*, 29 (1980), 246-285.

- KER JOHANNES (Dumblane, 16.. -Edinburgh, 19.XI.1741): *'Donaides' and a Poem in Imitation of 'Donaides' (1725)*. By John Ker and David Malloch. Introduction by Irma S. Lustig and Translation by Barrows Dunham. Augustan Reprint Society, 188 (Los Angeles, Clark Library, 1978). Occasional Poem from King's College in Aberdeen.
- KNOBELSDORF, EUSTACHIUS DE (Heilsberg/Lidzbark 20.VIII.1519-Breslau 1571): Cambier G., "A propos du programme rabelaisien d'éducation physique", in Ghislaine Viré (ed.), *Grec et Latin en 1980. Études et Documents dédiés à É. Liénard* (Brussels, U.P., 1980), pp. 139-143. Vv. 109-164 of *Lutetiae descriptio*: "sports in Paris": a confirmation of Rabelais' programme of physical training.
- LANDOR W. S. (1775-1864): McKinnon B., "Three Latin Poems by W. S. Landor", *Durham University Journal*, 72 (1979), 55-59.
- LILIUS (LILY) GUILIELMUS (ca. 1468-1522): Tournoy G., "Twee ongepubliceerde gedichten bij portretten van Erasmus en Thomas More", in J. Veremans (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Prof. Dr. G. Degroote* (Brussel, 1980), pp. 159-165. With text of W. Lily's epigram "In Mori tabulam continentem effigies Erasmi et Egidii" from Ms. Harley 540 (B.L.), ff. 57^v-58^r.
- LOTICHIUS PETRUS: Schmidt P. L., "... unde utriusque poetae elegans artificium admirari licebit: zur Ovid-Rezeption (Am. 2, 6) des Petrus Lotichius Secundus (El. 2, 7)", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, 23 (1980), 54-71.
- MARULLUS MICHAEL: McGann M. J., "Medieval or Renaissance? Some Distinctive Features in the Ancona Epitaph of Manilius Marullus", *BHR*, 43 (1981), 341-343. — See also 2.1 (A. Michel).
- MELANCHTON PH.: See hereafter: RUBIGALLUS.
- MORUS THOMAS: Kinney D., "More's Epigram on Brixius' Plagiarism: One Poem or Two", *Moreana*, 18 (1981), nr. 70, pp. 37-44. — Marc'hadour G., "La poésie latine de Thomas Morus", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 26 (1978), 35-43.
- PANNONIUS JANUS: Csapodi-Gárdonyi K., "Eine unbekannte Erstausgabe von Epigrammen des Janus Pannonius", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1979), 53-57. Poetical correspondence with Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini in *Epistolarum secularium Enee Sylvii Pitholominei*, (Cologne, Arnold Therhoernen, ca. 1480 — copy: Budapest).
- PASCOLI JOHANNES: Desmed R., "Un poème latin moderne: Pomponia Graecina de Giovanni Pascoli", in Ghislaine Viré (ed.), *Grec et Latin en 1980. Études... É. Liénard* (Brussels, U.L.B., 1980), pp. 145-154.
- PETRARCA F.: Alberto Asor Rosa, *Petrarca e la cultura del Trecento*, Storia e antologia della letteratura italiana, 3/1 (Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1978).
- PLANTE FRANCISCUS (Brugge, 1613-1690): Van den Besselaar J., "Franciscus Plante und seine *Mauritias*", in *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht: Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679*, Exhibition Catalogue (Kleve, 1979), pp. 47-56.
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Cerri A., "Epiteti ed aggettivi nella versione omerica di Angelo Poliziano", *Acme*, 31 (1978), 349-72. — Pyle Cynthia M., "Le thème d'Orphée dans les œuvres latines d'Ange Politien", *Bulletin Assoc. G. Budé = Lettres d'Humanité*, XXXIX (1980), 408-419.
- PONTUS TYARDEUS: Sonnevile H., "Pontus de Tyard, bibliographie chrono-

- logique (1549-1978)", *Zeitschrift französ. Sprache und Literatur*, 90 (1980), 321-346.
- QUATRARIUS IOHANNES (1336-1402): Troiano Rosa, "Giovanni Quatrario di Sulmona", in *CULT. MERID.*, pp. 35-50.
- RATALLERUS G.: See hereafter: RUBIGALLUS.
- REUSNERUS NICOLAUS (Löwenberg, 1545-Jena 1602): Ludwig W., "Die poetischen Beschreibungen des Herzogtums Württemberg durch Hugo Favolius und Nicolaus Reusner", *Zeitschrift f. Württemberg. Landesgeschichte*, 36 (1977), 96-113.
- RUBIGALLUS (= ROTHAN) PAULUS PANNONIUS (Kremnitz, ca. 1520?-Schemnitz, 1577?): *Pauli Rubigalli Pannonii Carmina*. Edidit M. Okal (Leipzig, Teubner, 1980). *Querela Pannoniae ad Germaniam, Hodoeporicon itineris Constantinopolitani, Satyriscus ecloga, Hymni duo, Epistola (heroica) Pannoniae ad Germaniam*, varia minora. The volume also contains short pieces by Ph. Melanchton, Ioachim Camerarius (2), Sigismundus Gelous, and Georgius Rotallerus = Ratallerus Frisius (2).
- SANNAZARUS JACOBUS: Monga L., "Les *Eclogae Piscatoriae* de Sannazar et les *Pescheries de Belleau*", *Bulletin de l'Association d'Études sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance*, 7 (1981), nr. 13, 13-21.
- SARBIEVIUS MATHIAS: Starnawski J., "Quelques aspects de l'histoire de la réception de Mathias Casimirus Sarbiewski au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 26 (1978), 87-100.
- SCALIGER JOSEPHUS J.: *Poemata anecdota, collecta et nunc primum edita* ab H. J. De Jonge (Leiden, Ed. Cristalbina (Witkam) Ter Lugt, 1980). Libellus in usum bibliophilorum C exemplaribus editus. Continet epigrammata e codicibus Leidensibus, Parisiensi, Amstelodamensi eruta.
- SCHWINDRAZHEIM JOHANNES ULRICUS (Neuenbürg an der Enz, 10.XI.1736-Gomaringen 18.VIII.1813): Weitzel K. L. & IJsewijn J., "Ovidius Hercynius sive J. U. Schwindrazhemii *Tristia Thumlingensia*", *HL*, 29 (1980), 286-299.
- TRIBRACHUS G.: Venturini G., "Il 'Bucolicon carmen' di G. Tribraço: Egloga VIII", *Giornale filologico Ferrarese*, 3 (1980), 79-82. — Id., "Ancora sul Tribraço", *Ib.*, 119. New edition of an autograph letter (in Italian mixed with Latin words).
- ULVICHUS JOHANNES (Viborg/Viipuri, ca. 1595/1600-Stockholm, 1652): *De Liberalitate urbis Gevaliae oratio et carmen. Kritische Ausgabe mit Kommentar und Sprachlich-rhetorisch-gelehrsamkeitlicher Untersuchung* von A. Uddholm, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 27 (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1980). Splendid edition of a rare specimen of Finno-Swedish Latin. The speech was held in the school of Gävle (Sweden) on 14 February 1617 (not 16 febr.! cf. p. 14 "postridie Idus Febr.") and printed the same year in Uppsala.
- WENDELINUS G.: vide sub *Prosa*.
- ZOVENZONIUS Raphael (1431-1485): Tremoli P., "Itinerario umano di Raffaele Zovenzoni", *Archeografo Triestino*, 88 (1979), 115-202. A study of the *Istrias* (242 Latin poems).
- MACARONICA: Chiesa M., "Una fonte dell'*Orlandino* e del *Baldus*", *GSLI*,

155 (1978), 204-23; Tonna G., "Divagazioni penitenziali sul *Baldus*" *GSLI*, 156 (1979), 106-119. Both on the macaronic poem of T. Folengo.
See also sub 2.2 Poetae (ARENA ANTONIUS).

3. SCAENICA

3.1 Generalia

- Casey P. F., *The Susanna Theme in German Literature. Variations of the Biblical Drama*, Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik-, und Literaturwissenschaft, 214 (Bonn, 1976). Discusses only the German dramas and translations from Birk and Frischlin.
- IJsewijn J., "Annales theatri Belgo-latini. Inventaris van het Latijns toneel uit de Nederlanden", in J. Veremans (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Prof. Dr. G. Degroote* (Brussel, Kon. Zuidnederl. Mij. Taal-, Letterk. & Geschied., 1980), pp. 41-55. Covers the period 1497-1735. Additions will be published with the text of a paper on Latin theatre in the old Netherlands in *Academiae [Bruxellensis] Analecta* 1982 (in the press).
- IJsewijn J., "Theatrum belgo-latinum: Notes and Queries", *HL*, 29 (1980), 310-311.
- IJsewijn J., "Humanistisches Theater", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* 5 (1981), 34-35. Forschungsbericht.
- Marigold W. G., "Jesuitentheater in Speyer. Zu zwei Programmheften im Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe", *Zeitschr. Gesch. Oberrhein*, 127 (1979), 263-280.
- Rädle F., "Das Jesuitentheater in der Pflicht der Gegenreformation", *Daphnis*, 8 (1979), 167-199. Deals with Georg Stengel (1585-1651) *Otho redivivus*. — Id., Review of: J. M. Valentin, *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande* (1554-1680), in *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, N.F. 21 (1980), 387-402.
- Steyaert F., "La rhétorique et le poème dramatique aux XVI^e et XVII^e s.", in R. Chevallier, *Colloque sur la rhétorique. Calliope I* (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1979), pp. 283-291.
- Szarota Elida M., *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Eine Periochen-edition. Texte und Kommentare*. 1. Band, Teil 1 + 2 (München, W. Fink, 1979). — Id., "Boleslaus der Kühne und der Hl. Stanislaus auf den Bühnen des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Daphnis*, 8 (1979), 271-298. Dramas from Poland (Poznan, 1574 until Danzig, 1737), Spain (J. Joncre's *Boleslaus Furens*), Louvain (N. Vernulaeus), Jülich (Anonymus S.J., 1699), Salzburg (Placidus Rauber, 1624), Ossiach/Carinthia (Anon. O.S.B., 1689).
- Valentin J. M., "Le séminaire de Bologne sur le théâtre néo-latin religieux (28 août 1979). Résultats et propositions", *HL*, 29 (1980), 300-307.
- Zelewitz Kl., "Propaganda Fides Benedictina. Salzburger Ordens theater im Hochbarock", *Daphnis*, 8 (1979), 201-215. Theater in the S. Gymnasium, founded 1618, with authors such as Otto Guzinger, S. Rettenpacher and Otto Aicher.

3.2 *Scriptores scaenici*

- AFINIUS (= VAN DEN ENDEN) FRANCISCUS (Antwerpen, 1602 - Paris, 1674): J. V. Meininger - G. Van Suchtelen, *Liever met wercken, als met woorden; de levensreis van doctor Franciscus van den Enden, leermeester van Spinoza, complotteur tegen Lodewijk de Veertiende* (Weesp, Heureka, 1980).
- ALABASTER W.: See: 2.2. Poetae.
- BETULEIUS (= BIRCK) SIXTUS: *Sämtliche Dramen ...* hrsg. v. M. Brauneck. Dritter Band: *Lateinische Dramen*, bearbeitet von M. Wacht (Berlin-New York, W. De Gruyter, 1980). Contains the *De vera nobilitate*, *Eva*, *Sapientia Salomonis* and two Latin translations of German plays, viz. *Beel*, translated by Martinus Ostermincherus, and *Zorobabel*, tr. Iohannes Entomius. The adaption of *Sapientia Salomonis* by Hermannus Kirchner (Marburg, 1591) has not been included in this edition (cfr. p. 288).
- CHELIDONIUS (= SCHWALBE) MUSOPHILUS BENEDICTUS: Machilek F., "Klosterhumanismus in Nürnberg um 1500", *Mitteilungen Vereins Geschichte Stadt Nürnberg*, 64 (1977), 10-45.
- CORNAZANUS ANTONIUS: *Fraudiphila.*, Introduzione, testo critico e traduzione a cura di St. Pittaluga, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di filologia classica e medievale dell'Univ. di Genova, 62 (Genova, Università, 1980).
- CORRARIUS GREGORIUS: Berrigan J. R. & Tournoy G., "Gregorii Corrarri Veneti Tragoedia cui titulus *Progne*. A Critical Edition and Translation", *HL*, 29 (1980), 13-99. See also: 2.2 Poetae.
- DOMITIUS PETRUS (fl. Firenze 1475-1510): Volpe R., "Intento religioso e impianto retorico in una commedia inedita del XV sec.: lo *Zenobius* di Pietro Domizi", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 15 (1979), 230-249.
- ENTOMIUS IOHANNES (fl. Augsburg ca. 1545): See: BETULEIUS S.
- HOIUS ANDREAS (Brugge 1551 - Douai 1631): Schrickx W., "*Pericles* in a Book-List of 1619 from the English Jesuit Mission and Some of the Play's Special Problems", *Shakespeare Survey*, 29 (1976), 21-32 (esp. pp. 27-30). *Machabeus* performed at St. Omer, 1595.
- KIRCHNERUS HERMANNUS (fl. Marburg ca. 1590): See: BETULEIUS S.
- MACROPIEDIUS GEORGIUS: Leys P., *Petriscus, fabula iucundissima, 1536, van Georgius Macropedius. Een proeve van vertaling en commentaar*. Unpublished Lic. Diss. (Gent, 1980: dactyl.). — Verschelde Bernadette, *Georgius Macropedius: Hecastus (1539). Vertaling, commentaar, vergelijking met Elckerlyc en met Chr. Ischyrius' Homulus (1536)*, Unpublished Licc. Diss. (Gent, 1981: dactyl.).
- MASENIUS JACOBUS: Best Th. W., "On Psychology and Allegory in Jacob Masen's *Rusticus Imperans*", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 13 (1978), 247-252.
- OSTERMINCHERUS MARTINUS (fl. Tübingen ca. 1545): See: BETULEIUS S.
- PLACENTIUS IOHANNES LEO (Sint-Truiden, ca. 1500? - Maastricht?, 1548?): Govaerts Els, *Placentius' "Clericus Eques" en het verhaal "De Barta". Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het komisch toneel in de Nederlanden*, Unpublished lic. diss. (Leuven, 1981, dactyl.). With text and Dutch translation of the play (Antwerp, 1535).

- SCHOTTENIUS HERMANNUS: Kartoschke D., "*Ludus Martius*. Das Spiel vom Bauernkrieg des Hermann Schottenius Hessus von 1526", in Raitz W. (ed.), *Deutscher Bauernkrieg. Historische Analysen und Studien zur Rezeption* (Op-laden, 1976), pp. 75-95. — See also: POETICA. 2.1 Generalia (Schäfer E.).
- STENGEL GEORGIUS: See: 3.1 Generalia (Rädle).
- VERGERIUS PETRUS PAULUS (Capodistria, 1370 - Budapest, 1444): Galli Q., "Il Paulus di Pier Paolo Vergerio. La rinascita della commediografia in una fase di transizione culturale e sociale", *Misure Critiche*, 33-34, IX-X (1979-1980), 5-36.
- VERNULAEUS NICOLAUS: Harmsen T., "Conradinus en de trits Vernulaeus, Oudaan, Smids", in *De Letter doet de Geest leven. Bundel ... Max de Haan* (Univ. Leiden, 1980), pp. 172-188. Deals briefly with V.'s drama *Conradinus* (Louvain, 1628), its possible source (Pandulphus Collenutius' *Historiae Neapolitanae*; Lipsius' *Monita et Exempla*?) and its place in the dramatical literature of the Low Countries.

4. PROSA ORATIO

4.1 Generalia

- Anselmi G. M.' "Ideologia e storiografia nel Quattrocento fiorentino", in *Studi ... R. Spongano* (Bologna, M. Boni, 1980), pp. 195-203.
- Armbruster A., "Vorarbeiten zu einer Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Historiographie", *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, 19/20 (1976-1977), 20-52.
- Binns J. W., "Ciceronianism in Sixteenth Century England: the Latin Debate", *Lias*, 7 (1980), 199-223. Authors discussed: Sir John Price, H. Osorius, G. Harvey, Laur. Humphrey, Barth. Clerke, R. Ascham, R. White.
- Davis J. C., *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1570* (Cambridge U.P., 1981). For neo-Latin studies the most useful part is Ch. 6 on Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma* (1648 and 1649). Regrettably quotations are given in English translation only. In general the book is founded on literature in English only, even when authors such as Campanella and Andreae are discussed.
- Firpo M., *Antitrinitari nell'Europa orientale del'500. Nuovi testi di Szymon Budny, Niccolò Paruta e Iacopo Paleologo* (Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1977).
- Grassi E., *Rhetoric as Philosophy: The Humanist Tradition* (University Park & London, Pennsylv. State U.P., 1980). Except Vives' *Fabula de Homine* only Italian humanists are discussed.
- Feller R. & Bonjour E., *Geschichtsschreibung der Schweiz vom Spätmittelalter zur Neuzeit*. 2. durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage (Basel, Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1979), 2 Bde.
- Hoven R., "Enseignement du grec et livres scolaires dans les anciens Pays-Bas et la Principauté de Liège de 1483 à 1600. Première partie: 1483-1550", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1979), 78-86.
- Marsh D., *The Quattrocento Dialogue. Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 35 (Harvard U.P.,

- Cambridge/Mass. 02138, 1980). Chapters on Cicero, Bruni, Poggio, Valla, Alberti and Pontano.
- Müller W. G., "Der Brief als Spiegel der Seele : zur Geschichte eines Topos der Epistolartheorie von der Antike bis zu Samuel Richardson", *Antike und Abendland*, 26 (1980), 138-157. Erasmus, Vives, Lipsius, Politianus.
- Negley G., *Utopian Literature. A Bibliography with a Supplementary Listing of Works Influential in Utopian Thought* (Lawrence, Kansas, Regents Press, 1977).
- Neuhausen K. A. & Trapp E., "Lateinische Humanistenbriefe zu Bessarions Schrift *In Calumniatorem Platonis*", *Jahrbuch Oesterreich. Byzantinistik*, 28 (1979), 141-165.
- Nuchelmans G., *Late-Scholastic and Humanist Theories of the Proposition*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, 103 (Amsterdam etc. North Holland, 1980). Discusses i.a. R. Agricola, Ph. Melanchthon, P. Ramus; pp. 231-236: 'Index of Latin Terms'.
- Osorio Romero I., 'La retórica en Nueva España', in *Aproximaciones al mundo clásico* (México, U.N.A.M., 1979), pp. 104-130. A useful survey of neolatin rhetorical treatises, sacred and academic orations written in Nueva España (Mexico).
- Read M. K., "Exempla versus Ratio : A Re-Appraisal of a Crisis in Renaissance Linguistics", *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1980), 141-152. Pico della Mirandola, E. Barbaro, Ph. Melanchton, J. L. Vives.
- Worstbrock Fr. J., "Die Antikenrezeption in der mittelalterlichen und der humanistischen Arts Dictandi", in A. Buck (ed.), *Die Rezeption der Antike* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 187-208.

4.2 *Scriptores pedestres*

- ACCOLTI BENEDICTUS: Black Robert, "Benedetto Accolti and the Beginnings of Humanist Historiography", *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 36-58.
- AEDICOLLIUS SERVATIUS: Mezzanotte Gabriella, "Una nuova testimonianza della fortuna petrarchesca nei Paesi Bassi", *HL*, 29 (1980), 166-175.
- AGNOLELLI FELIX: Bianca Concetta, "Monumentum laudis: una lettera di Felice Agnoletti a Coluccio Salutati per la dedica del *De Fato*", *HL*, 29 (1980), 1-12.
- AGRICOLA RUDOLFUS: Worstbrock, F. J., "Agricola Rudolf", *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Bd. 1 (Berlin, 1978), coll. 84-93. — Vermeire Patricia, *Rodolphus Agricola's Axiochus-Vertaling* (Univ. Leuven, 1981). Unpublished lic. diss., containing a critical edition of Agricola's Latin version of Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*. Three stages of the text could be found.
- ALBERTI L. B.: Gorni G., "Dalla famiglia alla corte: itinerari e allegorie nell'opera di L. B. Alberti", *BHR*, 43 (1981), 241-256. — Jodogne P., "La diffusion française des écrits de Leon Battista Alberti" in SIMONE, pp. 181-197.

- AMO ANTONIUS GUILIELMUS: Irmscher J., "De Antonio Guilielmo Amone Guinea-Afro, qui saeculo XVIII in Germaniae Universitatibus philosophiam docuit", *Africa et Roma. Acta Conventus Latinis litteris fovendis ... Dacarinae habiti* (Roma, Bretschneider, 1979), pp. 388-391.
- ANDREAE JOH. VALENTINUS (Württemberg, 1586-1654): *Christianopolis. Aus dem lateinischen übersetzt, kommentiert und mit einem Nachwort hrsg. von W. Biesterfeld* (Stuttgart, Reclam, 1975). — Van Dülmen R., "Reformations-utopie und Sozietätsprojekte bei Johann V. Andreae", *Francia*, 6 (1978), 299-318.
- ANONYMUS SALERNITANUS: Piacentini Paola Scarcia, "Lettere di un ignoto umanista (Vat. lat. 2906: personaggi e cultura d'area salernitana)", *HL*, 29 (1980), 100-160.
- ARCAMONE IGNATIUS S.J. (Bari, ca. 1615 - Goa 30.IV.1683): Lagrange Romeo Fernandes, "Una descrição e relação *De Sasatana peninsula* (1664) do padre Inácio Arcamone", *Archivum Historicum S.J.*, 50 (1981), 76-119. First edition from the ms. in Rome (Bibl. Naz. Centrale Vitt. Eman.) of *De Sasatana peninsula in Indiae Statu iuxta Goam Lusitanarum coloniarum curiam sita*.
- BARLAEUS CASPAR: Cf. Catalogus, "Soweit der Erdkreis" (Kleve, 1979), pp. 42, 332-334 (*Rerum ... in Brasilia ... gestarum ... historia, 1647; Mauritius redux, 1644*).
- BARNABA SENESE: *Epistolario*, a cura di G. Ferraù, Univ. degli Studi di Messina. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Centro di Studi Umanistici. Studi e Testi, 2 (Palermo, Il Vespro, 1979).
- BARONIUS CAESAR (Sora, 1538-Roma, 1607): Jedin H., *Kardinal Caesar Baronius. Der Anfang der Katholischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung im 16. Jahrhundert*. (München, Aschendorff, 1978).
- BASILIIUS LEONARDUS (Pastor Lutheranus vici Doborcensis = Dobírca, Transylvania, Rumania): "Narratio de rebus Transsylvanicis (1599-1603)", ed. R. Constantinescu, *Lupta pentru unitate națională a țărilor Române 1590-1630. Documente Externe*. (București, 1981), pp. 259-308. Published from the ms. in Munich, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Kasten Blau, 344/27 1/3.
- BENZELIUS Ericus (Uppsala 27.I.1675-23.IX.1743): Erikson A. (ed.), *Letters to Erik Benzelius the Younger From Learned Foreigners*, Acta regiae Soc. Scient. et Litt. Gothoburgensis: Humaniora 16. 2 vols. (Göteborg, Universitetsbibliothek, 1980). A critical, annotated and fully indexed edition of 357 letters (mostly in Latin) sent to the learned philologist E. Benzelius jr.
- BERTIUS, PETRUS (Beveren/Roeselare, 1565 - Paris, 1629): Bosch L. J. M., *Petrus Bertius 1565-1629* (Doct. diss. Nijmegen, 1979). — Id., "Petrus Bertius (1565-1629) and the Physics of Aristoteles", *Lias*, 7 (1980), 225-240.
- BESSARION: Labowsky Lotte, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six Early Inventories*, Sussidi Eruditi 31 (Roma, Storia e Letteratura, 1979).
- BLONDUS FLAVIUS: Berardi D., "Un nuovo manoscritto della prima redazione dell'*Italia illustrata* di Biondo Flavio", *Studi Medievali*, 3^a s., 19 (1978), 777-779.
- BOCCACCIO G.: Stefanelli R., *Boccaccio e la poesia* (Napoli, Loffredo, 1978). Study of *De Genealogia* ... — Tournoy G., 'Le versioni latine del *Decameron*', in TARUGI, I, 125-26. List of 28 translations, 1373-1954.

- BONETUS DE LATIS: Margolin J.-Cl. "Bonet de Latès, médecin, astrologue et astronome du pape", in TARUGI, III, 107-148. With a letter in Hebrew by J. Reuchlin to Charles de Bovelles, and the same in Latin by J.R. to Bonet de Latès.
- BOSCOVICIUS ROGERIUS IOSEPHUS (Dubrovnik, 1711-Milano, 1787): Bošković Ruder Josip, *Teorija prirodne filozofije*. Biblioteka temelji, 1 (Zagreb, Ognjen Prica, 1974). Bilingual edition, with the Latin text of the second edition (*Theoria philosophiae naturalis*, Venice 1763), corrected by the author.
- BOTTINO HIERONYMUS, O. Cist. (1808-Roma 8.V.1871): *De bibliotheca Sessoriana synopsis historica*, ed. M. Palma, in *Sessoriana*, Sussidi Eruditi 32 (Roma, Storia e Lett., 1980) pp. 93-111.
- BRUNI L.: Fryde E., "The Beginnings of Italian Humanist Historiography. The New Cicero of Leonardo Bruni", *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 533-552. A reappraisal of the biography *Cicero Novus* (ca. 1416).
- BRUNO GIORDANO: *Opere Latine*, a cura di C. Monti (Torino, U.T.E.T., 1980).
- CAESARIUS IANUS: See: 2.2 Poetae.
- CANONHERIUS PETRUS ANDREAS (Genova, 1582-Antwerpen, 1639): Gambino Giovanni Carlo, 'Pietro Andrea Canoniero: frammenti sulle Fiandre Spagnole', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XLVIII-XLIX (1978-1979), 261-271. I.a. his *Flores epitaphiorum* (1613).
- CANTEMIR DEMETRIUS (Romania, 1673-1723): Berza M., "Démètre Cantemir (1673-1723)", in: *Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balcaniques ... Actes du Colloque intern. organisé par l'AIESEE, Istanbul ... 1973* (Bucarest, 1977), pp. 449-460. Survey of C.'s works, and bibliography.
- CARACCIOLUS TRISTANUS (Napoli 1437-1522?): Angiolillo Giuliana, "Il *Quid sit in tot variis artibus iunioribus amplectendum* di T. Caracciolo", in *CULT. MERID.*, pp. 51-74. Critical edition from the mss. The text was written after 1501.
- CASA JOHANNES: Carrai St., "Sulla data di composizione del *De officiis inter potentiores et tenuiores amicos* del Della Casa, *Rin.* 2^a s., 20 (1980), 383-387.
- CASE JOH.: Schmitt C.B., "John Case and Machiavelli", in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore* eds. S. Bertelli & G. Ramakus, 2 vols. (Florence, 1978), I, 231-240.
- CASTALDI CORNELIO (1453-1537): Mantovani G., "Contributi inediti su Cornelio Castaldi (1453-1537)", *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 11 (1978), 107-115.
- CASTELLIO SEBASTIANUS (St. Martin-du-Fresne, 1515-Basel, 1563); *De Arte dubitandi et confidendi, ignorandi et sciendi*. With Introduction and Notes by Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, 29 (Leiden, 1981). First complete edition of Castellio's most mature work (1563), occasioned by Servetus' death in Geneva.
- CERETA LAURA (Brescia, 1469-1499): Rabil A., Jr., *Laura Cereta, Quattrocento Humanist*, Medieval & Renaissance Text & Studies, 3 (Binghamton, State U of New York, N.Y. 13901, 1981) The book includes an analysis of C.'s life and thought, a study of the sources (i.a. 83 letters), a summary of all the works and a critical edition of eleven unpublished letters and a mock funeral oration in honor of an ass.

- CERVA (CRIJEVIĆ) SERAPHIUS MARIA (Dubrovnik, 1686-24.VI.1759): *Bibliotheca Ragusina, in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur*. Editionem principem curavit et prooemium conscripsit St. Krasić. Tomus I^{us} (Zagreb, 1975); tomus II^{er} et III^{us} (Zagreb, 1977); tomus IV^{us} (Zagreb, 1980), 4 vols: Hrvatski Latinisti 8 a-b-c.
- CLAMENGES NICOLAUS DE: Cechetti Dario, "Florere — Deflorescere. In margine ad alcuni temi del primo Umanesimo francese", in SIMONE, pp. 143-155.
- COOKE ELISHA, Jr. (New England, 1678-1737): Kaiser L. M., "Feriis festisque diebus: the Salutatory Oration of Elisha Cooke, Jr., 7 July 1697", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 28 (1980), 380-390.
- CORTESIUS ALEXANDER (1459-1490): Cortese Rossi Libia, "La scapigliatura fiorentina", in TARUGI, III, 53-63. Latin text and Italian translation of four letters written in 1486 by A. Cortese to his friend Francesco Baroni. — Cortese Dino, "Il Poliziano a San Gimignano, Due epigrammi per Angelo Poliziano", in TARUGI, III, 65-76. Two epigrams by A. Cortese.
- CORTESIUS PAULUS: *Pauli Cortesii De hominibus doctis*, a cura di G. Ferraù, Univ. degli studi di Messina. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Centro di Studi umanistici. Studi e Testi 1 (Palermo, Il Vespro, 1979).
- CONVERSINUS IOHANNES: Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna, *Dragmalogia de eligibili vitae genere (1404)*, edited with introduction, translation and notes by Helen Lanneau Eaker and B. G. Kohl, Public. of the Renaiss. Society of America 7 (Bucknell Univ. Press., 1980). — Nason V., "L'epistola consolatoria a Donato Albanzani in morte del Petrarca di Giovanni Conversini", *Studi Urbinati*, 52, n.s.B. (1978), 337-350.
- CREMONINI CAESAR (Cento, 1550-Padova, 1631): Kennedy L. A., "Cesare Cremonini and the Immortality of the Human Soul", *Vivarium*, 18 (1980), 143-158. Deals with C.'s commentaries on Aristotle's *De Anima*.
- EMANUEL REX PORTUGALIAE: *Epistola serenissimi regis Portugaliae ad Julium Papam Secundum de victoria contra infideles habita*. Reproduction en facsimilé de l'édition parisienne de 1507, présentée par J. V. de Pina Martins (Paris, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1978).
- ERASMUS: Halkin L.-E., "Erasmus éditeur de sa correspondance: le cas de l'*Auctarium*", *BHR* 40 (1978), 239-247. — Holeczek H., "Schritte auf dem Wege zur Erasmusbibliographie", *Zeitschrift f. Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 27 (1980), 381-391. — Erasmus von Rotterdam, *De Conscribendis Epistolis. Anleitung zum Briefschreiben (Auswahl)*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von K. Smolak, Ausgewählte Werke, hrsg. von W. Welzig, 8 (Darmstadt, Wissensch. Buchgesellschaft, 1980). — IJsewijn J., "Castigationes Erasmi", *HL*, 29 (1980), 315-317. — *La correspondance d'Érasme, traduite et annoté d'après le texte latin de l'Opus epistolarum de P. S. Allen...* Vol. IX 1530-1532, par B. Beaulieu, H. Vannerom, Y. Remy, et revue par Cl. Backvis (Brussels, U.P., 1980). — *La Correspondance d'Érasme*: vol. X, 1532-34, par M. Delcourt e.a. ... et revue par A. Gerlo (Brussels U.P. 1981). — Christ-v. Wedel, Christine, *Das Nichtwissen bei Erasmus von Rotterdam. Zum philosophischen und theologischen Erkennen in der geistlichen Entwicklung eines christlichen Humanisten*, Basler Beiträge zur

- Geschichtswissenschaft, 142 (Basel-Frankfurt a.M., 1981). — Augustijn C., "Érasme et Strasbourg 1524. A propos d'un fragment d'une lettre perdue d'Érasme à Hédion", in M. de Kroon-M. Lienhard (eds.), *Horizons européens de la Réforme en Alsace ... Mélanges J. Rott* (Strasbourg, Istra, 1980), pp. 62-68. Unknown fragment preserved in Bucer's *Epistola apologetica*. To be inserted as Allen 1429 a. — Baschnagel, G., "Narrenschiff" und "Lob der Torheit". *Zusammenhänge und Beziehungen* (Frankfurt/M., Bern, Las Vegas, 1979). — de Jonge H. J., "Ein fälschlich Erasmus zugeschriebener Brief von Esrom Rüdinger an Joachim Camerarius", *Archiv f. Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980), 308-310. Letter sold by Sotheby, London, 8.XI.1977. — Moreira de Sà A., *De re Erasmiana. Aspectos do Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa do século XVI* (Braga, Publicações da Faculdade de Filosofia, 1977). — O'Donnell A. M., "Rhetoric and Style in Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*", *Studies in Philology*, 77 (1980), 26-49. — O'Rourke Boyle M., *Christening Pagan Mysteries. Erasmus in Pursuit of Wisdom* (Toronto, U of Toronto Press, 1981). — Sheerin D. J., "A Carolingian Cure Recovered: Erasmus' Citation of Hucbald of St. Amand's *Ecloga de Calvis*", *BHR*, 42 (1980), 167-171. Cf. J. IJsewijn, in *HL*, 29 (1980), 316. — Reedijk C., *Tandem bona causa triumphat. Zur Geschichte des Gesamtwerkes des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Vorträge d. Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung Univ. Basel, 16 (Basel, Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1980. — Van Veen H. Th., "Erasmus on the 'Carmelite taboo'", *BHR*, 43 (1981), 335-339. — Wolfs S. P., "Dominicanen en de *Colloquia* van Erasmus", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 61 (1981), 32-74.
- FICINUS MARSILIUS: Allen M. J. B., "The Sibyl in Ficino's Oaktree", *Modern Language Notes*, 95 (1980), 205-210. A solution of a crux in the Latin translation of *Pimander*. — Id., "Cosmogony and Love: The Role of *Phaedrus* in Ficino's *Symposium Commentary*", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 10 (1980), 131-153.
- FILSTICH JOHANNES (Braşov/Kronstadt, 9.XI.1684-18.XII.1743): *Tentamen Historiae Vallachicae/Încercare de Istorie Românească*. Studiul introductiv, ediţia textului şi note A. Armbruster. Traducere R. Constantinescu (Bucureşti, Editura, Ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1979). First edition from the autograph ms. in the Braşov State Archives, Colecţia Biserica Neagră, I F 20, with an introduction on the life and work of Filstich, rector of the Braşov gymnasium (rector gymnasii Coronensis).
- GHERARDI JACOBUS: Lee E., "Jacopo Gherardi and the Court of Pope Sixtus IV", *Catholic Historical Review*, 65 (1979), 221-237. A study of G.'s *Diarium Romanum*.
- GOGIUS BARTHOLOMAEUS (fl. Ferrara, late XVc.): Gundersheimer W. L., Bartolommeo Goggio: A Feminist in Renaissance Ferrara, *RQ*, 33 (1980), 175-200. Wrote in Latin *De Nobilitate humani animi opus* (Modena, Bibl. Estense, ms Campori 134, now Gamma, 5, 6, 7) a treatise on the immortality of the Soul (addressed to Ercole d'Este) and a meditation on the death of Eleonara d'Aragona (†11.X.1493). Perhaps recipient of a poem by Octavianus Cleophilus (*Epigrammatum libri III*, Ms. Vat. Lat. 5163; cf. f. 65).

- GRONOVIVS J.F.: Bugter St., *J.F. Gronovius en de Annales van Tacitus* (Diss. Leiden, 1980).
- GROTIUS HUGO: *Grotania*, 1 (1980). A new journal published by Van Gorcum at Assen, The Netherlands. The contents of the first volume are mainly juridical, but neolatinists will find the bibliography of Grotius editions useful. — See also 2.2 *Poetae*.
- GRUTERUS JANUS (Antwerpen, 1560-Heidelberg, 1627): De Paepe Chr., "Une lettre inédite de Janus Gruterus à Hadrianus Marslaricus", *HL*, 29 (1980), 237-245.
- GUARINI BAPTISTA: Pette G., "Per il testo del *De Ordine docendi ac studendi* di Battista Guarini", *Studi Urbinati*, 52, n.s.B. (1978), 351-365.
- HALL JOSEPH: Wands J., "The Early Printing History of Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem*", *Publications Bibliograph. Society of America*, 74 (1980), 1-12. Cfr. *Seventeenth Century News*, 38 (1980), 91. 1st ed. "Frankfort", s.d. = really London, in late 1605 or early 1606; 2d ed., Hanau 1606; reissue with first edition titles: Germany, fall 1607. — *Another World and Yet the Same. Bishop Joseph Hall's "Mundus Alter et Idem"*, Translated and Edited by J. M. Wands, Yale Studies in English, 190 (New Haven, Yale U.P., 1981). The book provides a complete English translation of the Latin original (1605), a stylistic analysis and a extensive commentary. It is highly regrettable that Yale U.P. decided not to include the critical Latin text prepared by the editor.
- HASSENSTEINIUS A LOBKOWICZ BOHUSLAUS: *Epistulae*, edd. J. Martínek et D. Martinkova. Tomus II: *Epistulae ad Familiares* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1980).
- HEGIUS ALEXANDER: Worstbrock F. J., "Zur Biographie des Alexander Hegius", *HL*, 29 (1980), 161-165.
- HENELIUS NICOLAUS (Neustadt/Oberschlesien, 11.I.1584 - Breslau, 23.VIII.1656): Heinisch, Kl. J., "Nikolaus Henel. Ein schlesischer Gelehrter der Barockzeit", *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, 20 (1979), 111-131.
- HIRNHAIM HIERONYMUS, O.P. (†Hradish, 27.VIII.1679): Leinsle U.G., "Abt Hieronymus Hirnhaim. Zur Wissenschaftskritik des 17. Jahrh.", *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 55 (1979), 171-195. Author of a *Theologia moralis*.
- HOLBERG LUDVIG: Jones J. F., Jr., "Adventures in a Strange Paradise — Utopia in Nicolai Klimii *Iter Subterraneum*", *Orbis Litterarum*, 35 (1980), 193-205.
- HONTERUS J.: Engelmann Gerhard, *Johannes Honter als Geograph*, Studia Transylvanica, 7 (Köln-Wien, 1981).
- HUBER ULRICUS (Dokkum, 13.III.1636 - Franeker, IX.1694): *Ulrici Huberi "Oratio [III], qua disseritur quamobrem ius publicum olim in Academia nostra professione publica non sit honoratum. Habita ... MDCLXXXII"*. Ulrik Huber, *Redevoering ...* Vertaald door F. Akkerman, T. J. Veen en A. G. Westerbrink. Geannoteerd ... door T. J. Veen (Zwolle, Tjeenk Willink, 1978). Text and Translation.
- HUTTENUS: See 2.2 *Poetae*.
- JANSENIUS CORNELIUS (Acquoy, 1585 - Ieper, 1638): Van Bavel J. & Schrama M. (eds.), *Jansenius et le Jansénisme dans les Pays-Bas. Mélanges L. Ceyssens*,

- Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium (Leuven, U.P., 1981). From the contents: J. Walgrave, "*L'Augustinus de Jansenius*", and articles by C. Voorvelt and M.G. Spierte on Johannes van Neercassel and his *Amor Poenitens*. — Ceysens L., "Deux nouvelles lettres originales de Corneille Jansenius", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 76 (1981), 81-83. To the theological Faculty of Louvain, sept./oct. 1636.
- IUNIUS FLORENTIUS (Gouda, ca. 1510-? post 1550): Ridderikhoff Cornelia M., "Florent Junius et Herman Lethmaet. Deux lettres d'un étudiant à l'université d'Orléans, 1546, 1547", *Lias* 7 (1980), 185-198. Two letters of Junius to H. Lethmaet of Gouda (ca. 1492-winter 1666/56), first published by Th. J. ab Almelooven, *Amoenitates theologico-politicae* (Amsterdam, 1694).
- JUNIUS FR.: Van Dorsten, J.A., "Sidney and Franciscus Junius The Elder", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 42 (1978), 1-13.
- KEPLER JOHANNES: Hallyn F., "Le Songe de Kepler", *BHR*, 42 (1980), 329-347. A literary study of *Somnium sive de Astronomia lunari*.
- KIRCHER ATHANASIUS, S.J.: "Athanasius Kircher und seine Beziehungen zum gelehrten Europa seiner Zeit", *Wolfenbütteler Bibliotheks-Informationen*, 6 (April, 1981) Nr. 1, p. 5. Report on a Kircher-conference, Wolfenbüttel, 1980.
- LANDINUS CHRISTOPHORUS: *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, a cura di Peter Lohe, Studi e Testi dell'Istit. Naz. di Studi sul Rinascimento, VI (Firenze, Sansoni, 1980). Critical edition based on 4 mss. (Vat. Urb. Lat. 508; Florent. BN, Conv. Soppr. J. IX 23; Laurent plut. 53, 28; Paris BN, lat. 3343^A) and the ed. pr. (Florentiae, 1480?). According to the editor Landino wrote his *D.C.* in 1472 (end of April through September). — Lentzen M., "Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Landino-Forschung", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 5 (1981), 92-100.
- LEGONISSA JOHANNES ANGELUS DE (fl. ca 1495): Linder A., "Ex mala parentela bona sequi seu oriri non potest: the Troyan Ancestry of the Kings of France and the *Opus Davidicum* of Johannes Angelus de Legonissa", *BHR*, 40 (1978), 497-512.
- LE LOUP PHILIPPUS: Ceysens L., "Un journal (1678-1692) du Collège de la Sainte Trinité à Louvain", *Lias*, 7 (1980), 257-287.
- LEVERETT JOHN (Harvard, s. XVIII in.), Kaiser L. M., "Leverett on Holyoke: *Ornamentum, Emolumentum*", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 28 (1980), 182-184. Oration held on 20 Sept. 1712 when E. Holyoke was installed as Tutor in astronomy and mathematics.
- LIPSIUS J.: *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*, Pars I: 1564-1583, ed. A. Gerlo, M.A. Nauwe-laerts, H. D. L. Vervliet (Brussels, 1978). Important review with many corrections by Chr. Heesakkers in *Lias*, 7 (1980), 141-147. The list of corrections by J. IJsewijn in *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* 3 (1979), 94-96 and 4 (1980), 72-74 will be completed in 5 (1981). — Abel G., *Stoizismus und frühe Neuzeit. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte modernen Denkens im Felde von Ethik und Politik* (Berlin-New York, 1978). — Ruysschaert J., "Juste Lipse, éditeur de Tacite", *Studi Urbinati*, 53, n.s.B. (1979), 47-61.
- MALDONADO JOHANNES: Asensio E.-Alcina J., *Paraenesis ad Litteras*. Juan

- Maldonado y el Humanismo español en tiempos de Carlos V* (Madrid, Fundacion Universitaria española, 1981).
- MALVICIUS PARACLETUS: Grégoire R., "Frammenti inediti del trattato *De bono mortis* di Paracleto Malvezzi (†1487) O.S.A.", *Analecta Augustiniana*, 43 (1980), 211-224.
- MANETTUS IANNOTIUS: De Petris A., "Giannozzo Manetti and his *Consolatoria*", *BHR*, 41 (1979), 493-525. With list of borrowings from Seneca's *Consolatio ad Marciam*. M. wrote his dialogue in 1438. — Reviakina N.V., "Giannozzo Manetti's *Dialogue at a Feast of Friends*", *Soviet Studies in History*, 19, nr. 2 (U of Hawaii, 1980), 47-65. Translation of an article published at Saratov in 1978 and dealing with the unedited *Dialogus in domestico et familiari quorundam amicorum symposio Venetiis habitus cum ibi Florentini populi nomine legationis munere fungeretur, ad dominum Donatum Acciajolium*. — Marsh D., 'Boccaccio, in the Quattrocento: Manetti's *Dialogus in symposio*', *RQ*, 33 (1980), 337-350. Deals with *Decam.* IV 1 (Tancredi and Ghismonda) in Bruni's Latin version and adds Latin rendering of Bruni's Seleucus and Antiochus tale. The unpublished dialogue is said to depict a gathering of Florentines in Venice, 1448.
- MARGGRAF GEORGIUS (Liebstadt/Pirna, 1610 - Luanda/Angola VII/VIII 1644): Cf. Catalogus "*Soweit der Erdkreis*" (Kleve, 1979), pp. 33-46; 335: *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (1648).
- MARULLUS M.: vide 2.1 (A. Michel).
- MEIBOMIUS MARCUS ("Tönning/Schleswig 1620/21 - Utrecht 15.2.1711): Weseley O., "Zwei unveröffentlichte Briefe von Marcus Meibom", *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 31 (1980), 35-48. One of the letters is to Leo Allaccius (1586-1669).
- MELANCHTHON PHILIPPUS: Maxcey C.E., "*Bona Opera*". *A Study in the Development of the Doctrine in Philip Melancthon*, Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica, 31 (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1980).
- MILTON JOHN: Miller L., "Milton and Vlacq", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 73 (1979), 145-207.
- MODREVIUS ANDREAS FRICIUS (Poland, 1503-1572): Kouskoff G., "Du bon usage d'un lieu commun chez Andreas Fricius Modrevius", in R. Chevalier (ed.), *Colloque sur la rhétorique. Calliope I* (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1979), pp. 271-282.
- DE MONTREUIL JOANNES: Ouy Gilbert, "Jean de Montreuil (alias de Mont-hureux-le-Sec), Pétrarque et Salutati" in SIMONE, pp. 47-55; — Id., "Confirmation définitive de l'origine lorraine de Jean de Montreuil", in SIMONE, pp. 591-593.
- MORINGUS GERARDUS (Bommel, ca. 1495 - St. Truiden, 1556): Bentley J.H., "Gerard Morinck's Orations on the New Testament", *HL* 29 (1980), 194-236. Editio princeps.
- MORUS THOMAS: Kinney A.F., *Rhetoric and Poetic in Thomas More's "Utopia"*, Humana Civilitas, 5 (Malibu, Ca. 90265, Undena Publ., P.O. Box 97, 1979). — *Thomas More 1477-1977. Colloque international tenu en novembre 1977* (Brussels U.P., 1980). From the contents: Marc'hadour G., "Th. M.

convertit Martin Dorp à l'humanisme érasmien"; Mann-Phillips M., "The Correspondence of Erasmus and Th. M."; Jolidon A., "Th. M. and Érasme, traducteurs du 'Tyrannicide' (1506)". — *Colloquio italo-britannico: Tommaso Moro e l'Utopia* (Roma, 20-21 marzo, 1979) (Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1980). Contents (1) Scarisbrick J.J., "La carriera politica di T.M."; (2) Trevor-Roper H., "Thomas More — Utopia"; (3) Gabrieli V., "L'elemento italiano nella vita e nell'opera di Th. M.: Congetture e fatti" (correct in note 12, p. 40, the startling notice that S. Peter's church at Louvain was demolished in the early 19th cent. This church is still the main church of the town, even after the damages of two world wars); (4) de Mattei R., "L'Utopia del Moro e la Città del Sole di T. Campanella"; (5) Trapp J. B., "T.M. nelle testimonianze contemporanee".

NEBRISSENSIS ANTONIUS: Rico F., *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros. El canon de gramáticos nefastos en las polémicas del humanismo* (Salamanca, U de S., 1978).

OMNIBONUS LEONICENUS: Berrigan, J. R., "The Aesopic Fables of Ognibene da Lonigo", *Classical Bulletin*, 56 (1980), 85-87.

PAIVA DE ANDRADE, DIDACUS DE: Rodrigues M.A., "A oração proferida por Diogo de Paiva de Andrade no Concilio de Trento", *Theologica*, 12 (Braga, 1977), 193-221. Edition of an oration on "Ego sum pastor bonus" held on 12 April 1562.

PALEARIUS AONIUS: Kosuta L., "Aonio Paleario et son groupe humaniste et réformateur à Sienne, 1530-1546", *Lias*, 7 (1980), 3-59.

PANHAUSEN IOHANNES (Opoeteren, 1540-Steinfeld, 1582): Valvekens J. B., "Iacobus Panhausen, abbas Steinfeldensis (1582)", *Analecta Praemonstratensis*, 54 (1978), 99-104.

PEROTTUS NICOLAUS (Sassoferrato, 1429-1480): Prete S., *L'Umanista Niccolò Perotti* (Sassoferrato, Istit. internaz. di Studi Piceni, 1980). A short but useful introduction.

PETRARCA FRANCISCUS: Bernardo A. S. (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca Citizen of the World. Proceedings of the World Petrarch Congress, Washington, D.C., April 6-13, 1974*, Studi sul Petrarca, 8 (Padova, Antenore/Albany, State U of N.Y. Press, 1980). — Chaurand Jacques, "Lectures d'Abélard de Pétrarque à nos jours", in SIMONE, pp. 57-79. About a humanist's reading of a medieval autobiography. — Dal Santo A., "Fr. Petrarca Varroni Reatino quid scripserit ab urbe Roma a. Domini MCCCL", in *Scritti in onore di B. Riposati. Studi su Varrone, sulla retorica storiografia e poesia latina*. Vol. I (Rieti, 1979), pp. 117-132. — Hausmann F. R., "Analisi ritmica e struttura retorica di alcune lettere latine di Francesco Petrarca a Carlo IV Imperatore", in TARUGI, II, 141-152. — Martellotti G., "Lucano come fonte del *De gestis Caesaris* del Petrarca", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, III, 9 (1979 [1980]), 1463-1474. — Id., "L'umanesimo del Petrarca", *Il Veltrò*, 24 (1980), 71-82. — Ponte G., "Il *Secretum* del Petrarca e un dialogo di Hildebert de Lavardin", in SIMONE, pp. 35-45. Deals with his reading of Hildebert's *Liber de querimonia et conflictu carnis et animae*. — Vide: Aedicollus. — Vide etiam sub Poetis.

- PHILELPHUS FRANCISCUS: Gualdo G., "Francesco Filelfo e la Curia Pontificia. Una carriera mancata", *Archivio Società Romana Storia Patria*, 102 (1979 [= 1981]), 189-236.
- PICCOLOMINI AENEAS SILVIUS: Viti P., "La *Historia de duobus amantibus* del Piccolomini fonte probabile della *Mandragola*", in TARUGI, III, 243-268.
- PISO GUILIELMUS (Leiden, 1611 - Amsterdam, 28.XI.1678): Cf. Catalogus "*Soweit der Erdkreis*" (Kleve, 1979), pp. 33-46; 334-335. *De medicina Brasiliensi libri IV* (1648); *De Indiae Utriusque re naturali et medica* (1658).
- PLATINA BARTHOLOMAEUS: *De Principe*, a cura di G. Ferrau, Univ. degli Studi di Messina. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Centro di Studi Umanistici, Studi e Testi, 4 (Palermo, Il Vespro, 1979). — Milham M. E., "The vernacular translations of Platina's *De honesta voluptate*", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1979), 87-95.
- POGGIUS BRACCIOLINI: Minicucci Angela, "De novis verbis Latinis apud Poggium Florentinum", *Latinitas*, 29 (1981), 94-124.
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Rosen K., "Two copies of the first edition of Politian's *Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima*", in TARUGI, I, 93-100. — See also: CORTESIUS A.
- POSTEL GUILLELMUS: Vasoli Cesare, "Postel e il 'Mito etrusco'", in SIMONE, pp. 325-350. Deals with the *De Etruriae regionis ... originibus ...* (Firenze, 1551). — Secret F., *Postelliana*, Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica, 33 (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1981).
- RANSANUS PETRUS: Barilaro A., "Pietro Ranzano, vescovo di Lucera, umanista domenicano in Palermo", *Memorie Domenicane*, N.S. 8-9 (1977-1978), 1-198.
- REUCHLIN J.: vide: BONETUS DE LATIS.
- ROMAGNO ANTONIUS DE (Feltre [Formegan?], ca. 1360-ib., 1409?): Ganguzza Billanovich Maria Ch., *L'Umanista Feltrino Antonio da Romagno e il suo Liber de Paupertate*, Univ. Padova: Public. Facoltà Lettere e Filos., LIX (Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 1980). Editio princeps (from Vat. Lat. 5223) of an unfinished dialogue dedicated to A. Loschi. With a biography of the author based on his letters and other documents, and a study of the thought. Sound work, but see a few important textual corrections by J. IJsewijn in *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 5 (1981), 70-71.
- RÜDINGER EGROM (1523-1591): See: ERASMUS (H. J. de Jonge).
- SALUTATUS COLUCCIUS: Langkabel H., *Die Staatsbriefe Coluccio Salutati. Untersuchungen zum Frühhumanismus in der Florentiner Staatskanzlei und Auswahl edition*. Archiv für Diplomatik etc., Beiheft 3 (Köln-Wien, Böhlau, 1981). — Menestò E., "La *Declamatio Lucretiae* del Salutati: manoscritti e fonti", *Studi medievali*, s. III, 20 (1979), 917-24. — Vide: AGNOLELLI FELIX.
- SARAVIA ADRIANUS (c. 1532-1613): Nijenhuis W., *Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532-1613). Dutch Calvinist, First Reformed Defender of the English Episcopal Church Order on the Basis of the Ius Divinum*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 21 (Leiden, Brill, 1980). — Includes an edition of biographical documents and correspondence with i.a. Casaubonus and J. Lipsius, and a bibliography.
- SCHRADERIUS GEORGIUS: Koch R., "Georg Schraders Lobrede auf Hannover 1649 (1650)", *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter*, 33, (1979), 1-56.

- SMITH THOMAS: M. Dewar, "A Question of Plagiarism. The 'Harrison Chapters' in Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*", *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 22 (1979), 921-929.
- SPINOZA B.: Akkerman F., *Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza. On Style, Earliest Translation and Reception, Earliest and Modern Edition of Some Texts* (Diss. Univ. Groningen, Instit. Class. Studies, 1981), Collects the author's previously printed articles on Spinoza's Latin and on editorial problems. — Guéret M. - Robinet A. - Tombeur P., *Spinoza, Ethica. Concor-dances. Index verborum. Listes de fréquences, Tables comparatives* (Louvain-la-Neuve, CETEDOC, 1977).
- STENONIUS NICOLAUS: Bierbaum M. & Faller A., *Niels Stensen. Anatom, Geologe und Bischof, 1638-1686*. Mit einem Kapitel von Anne-Liese Thomasen: *Der Wandel des Stensen-Bildes* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1980).
- STORDEUR PETRUS: see LE LOUP.
- STURMIUS JOHANNES: Weiss, J. M., "The Technique of Faint Praise: Johann Sturm's *Life of Beatus Rhenanus*", *BHR*, 43 (1981), 289-302.
- SUÁREZ FRANCISCUS: *De Legibus (III, 17-35): De politica obligatione*. Estudio preliminar y edición crítica bilingüe por L. Perena, V. Abril y C. Baciero, *Corpus Hispanorum de pace*, XVI-XVII (Madrid, C.S.I.C., 1977).
- SURIUS LAURENTIUS (Lübeck, 1523-Köln, 23.V.1578): Jan van Ruusbroec, *Opera Omnia*. Deel 1 *Boecksken der Verclaringhe*, uitg. G. de Baere; Deel 2 *Vanden Seven Sloten*, uitg. G. de Baere (Tielt/Belgium, Lannoo-Leiden, Brill, 1981). Vols. 1 and 2 of a new Ruusbroec edition, including the original medieval Dutch text, a new English translation and the 1552 Latin version of L. Surius.
- SWEDENBORG EMMANUEL: Chadwick, J., *A Lexicon to the Latin Text of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772)*. Part III: D-Futurus (London, The Swedenborg Society, 1978), Part IV: G — Korus; Addenda to Parts I-IV (1980). — Dawson, G. P., "Report on Current Swedenborg Studies", *HL*, 29 (1980), 308-309.
- TRAVERSARIUS AMBROSIIUS: Sottili A., "Humanistische Neuverwendung mittelalterlicher Übersetzungen. Zum mittelalterlichen und humanistischen Fortleben des Johannes Climacus", in A. Buck (ed.), *Die Rezeption der Antike* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 165-186. Clarenus' translation rewritten by A.T.
- UGHELLUS FERDINANDUS: Geirnaert N., "Ferdinand Ughelli (1594-1670) and Carolus de Visch (1596-1666). An Italian Contribution to the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*", *Lias*, 7 (1980), 241-256. With the text of four letters (1653-1659) of Ughelli to the Flemish monastic historian.
- VADIANUS JOACHIM: Bonorand C., *Joachim Vadian und der Humanismus im Bereich des Erzbistums Salzburg*, *Vadian-Studien* 10 (St. Gallen, Fehr, 1980).
- VALERIANUS PIERIUS: De Caprio V., "Intellettuali e mercato del lavoro nella Roma medicea", *Studi Romani*, 29 (1981), 29-46.
- VALLA L.: *On Pleasure = De Voluptate*. By Lorenzo Valla. Transl. A. Kent Hieatt and Maristella Lorch (New York, Abaris Books, 1979). Text and Translation. — Ferlauto L., *Il testo di Tucidide e la traduzione latina di Lorenzo Valla* (Palermo, 1979). — Waswo R., "The 'Ordinary Language Philosophy' of Lorenzo Valla", *BHR*, 41 (1979), 255-71. — L. Valle *Antidotum in Facium*, ed. Mariangela Regoliosi. *Thesaurus Mundi* 20 (Padova, Antenore, 1981).

- VAN NEERCASSEL IOHANNES (°Gorcum, 1626): Dieudonné Ph., "Ernest Ruth d'Ans et l'*Amor Poenitens* de Jean de Neercassel", *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, 75 (1980), 5-39. Deals with Van Neercassel's main work: *Amor Poenitens, sive de divini Amoris ad poenitentiam necessitate ... [libri II]* (Emmerich, 1683; 1685²). Vide et supra s.v. JANSENIUS.
- VEGIUS MAPHEUS: Webb D., "Eloquence and Education. A Humanist Approach to Hagiography", *Journal Eccles. History*, 31 (1980), 19-39.
- VERGERIUS PETRUS PAULUS: Robey D., "Humanism and Education in the Early Quattrocento: The *De ingenuis moribus* of P. P. Vergerio", *BHR*, 42 (1980), 27-58. — Vide et sub *Scaenicis*.
- VESALIUS ANDREAS: Toellner R., "'Renata dissectionis ars'. Vesals Stellung zu Galen in ihren wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen und Folgen", in A. Buck, *Die Rezeption der Antike* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 85-96.
- VITÉZ DE ZREDNA, IOHANNES (Zredna, ca. 1400-Várad 9.VIII.1472): *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna. Opera quae supersunt*. Edidit I. Boronkai, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii recentisque aevorum, Series nova, III (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980). Vitéz's works consist of letters and orations.
- VIVES J. L.: IJsewijn J., "Vives and Poetry", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 26 (1978), 21-34. — Waswo R., "The Reaction of Juan Luis Vives to Valla's Philosophy of Language", *BHR*, 42 (1980), 595-609. — "Juan Luis Vives", *Wolfenbütteler Bibliotheks-Informationen*, 6 (April 1981), Nr. 1, pp. 5-6. Report on the Wolfenbüttel Vives Conference, 1980. The Proceedings of this conference are in the press.
- VOSSIUS GERARDUS JOANNES: Rademaker C.S.M., *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)*, Respublica Literaria Nederlandica, 5 (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1981). This is not a translation of the author's book on Vossius in Dutch, but a completely rewritten work.
- WENDELINUS GODEFRIDUS (Herk-de-Stad, 6.VI.1580-Gent 24.X.1667): Vandikelen J., "Bij de vierhonderdste verjaardag van de geboorte van Govaart Wendelen (1580-1667)", *Het Oude Land van Loon*, 35 (Hasselt, 1980), 5-33. A new up-to-date biography of the Limburgian astronomer, mathematician, historian and poet (*Aries seu aurei velleris encomium*, Antwerp, 1632).

5. INSCRIPTIONES

- Kloos R. M., *Einführung in die Epigraphik des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Darmstadt, Wiss. Buchgesellsch., 1980).
- Kaiser L. M., "Epitaph for a founding father", *The Classical Bulletin*, 57 (1981), 61-62.

6. LATINITAS NOVISSIMA

- Academiae Latinitati Fovendae Commentarii, Lib. IV* (Roma, 1980): *De carminibus civilibus poetarum, qui Augusti aetate floruerunt*.
 Contents: 1) E. Coleiro, *Quantum ad vitam moresque populi Romani cognoscendos elegia Tibulliana valeat* (pp. 7-18); 2) V. Poeschl, *Historia et Humanitas in carminibus Horatianis* (pp. 19-33).

- Certamen Capitolinum*. Series altera, I (Roma, Istituto Studi Romani, 1980). Contents: 1) Guido Angelino, *Psychologus*. (pp. 13-41); 2) Olynthus Pasqualetti, *Nare sagax Lycisca* [carmen] (pp. 43-49).
- EMINESCU M. (Ipoteshti/Botoshani, 15.I.1850-Bucarest, 1889): *Mihai Eminescu Poezii. M.E. Carmina, a Tr. Lăzărescu, N. Sulică, V. St. Cimpeanu, C. Antoniu, St. Bezdechi, E. A. Dobriceanu Latine reddita*. (ed. D. Murărașu) (Bucarest, Editura Eminescu, 1974). Latin versions of poems by the Rumanian poet Eminescu.
- FALLANI GIOVANNI, 'De Francisco Petrarcha oratio', in Bernardo A.S. (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca Citizen of the World* (Padova, Antenore-Albany, State U of N.Y., 1980), pp. 1-6. Address to the Washington Congress in excellent Latin.
- [EYFFINGER ARTHUR C.G.M.], *Spicula: Arcti poetae Carmina*. Edi iussit Hovenius Roterodamus. Praefatur E. de Kort ('s Gravenhage, Kon. Bibl., 1981). Private edition of Latin poems by a member of the "Grotius Instituut".
- FELICI PERICLES, *Vere Sereno* (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1980). Poems.
- MORABITO GUISEPPE, "Mindszenty. Traduzione e note di S. Stella", *Memorie e Rendiconti Accademia Scienze Lettere e Belle Arti degli Zelanti e dei Dafnici di Acireale*, S. II, 10 (Acireale, 1980), pp. 145-158. Seven poems in various metres celebrating the Hungarian Cardinal. Golden medal of Certamen Vaticanum XXI (1978).
- PASQUALETTI OLYNTHUS, "Benedicto Riposati doctori litteras latinas maius per aevi spatium praeclare professo" (carmen), in *Scritti in onore di B. Riposati: Studi su Varrone, sulla retorica storiografia e poesia latina*. Vol. I (Rieti, 1979), p. VI.
- PISINI MAURUS, *Vergilius ad Cilnium Maecenatem. Carmen in certamine Vaticano publica laude ornatum* (Arezzo, Formelli & Bacconi, 1980).
- COMMENTARII: *Latinitas* (Vatican); *Vox latina* (Saarbrücken); *Vita latina* (Avignon).

7. INCEPTA

- BRANT SEBASTIANUS: Thomas Wilhelmi, Im Finstern Boden 5, CH-4125 Riehen/Basel, is preparing an edition of Brant's *Opera minora*.
- LANDINUS CHRISTOPHORUS: Prof. Manfred Lentzen (Münster in Westfalen) is preparing a critical edition of *De anima*.
- Renaissance Latin Drama in England. A Collection of All the Surviving Books and Mss. Reproduced in Facsimile. With Introductions and Plot Summaries*. General Editors: M. Spevack-J. W. Binns (Hildesheim-New York, G. Olms Verlag.). A Collection of about 150 Latin plays from 1550-1650. First series to be published: *Plays Associated with Oxford University* (13 Vols. with 25 plays, including authors such as W. Gager, J. Foxe, R. Burton, N. Grimald e.a.
- VIVES J.L.: Prof. E. George (Texas Tech Univ., Dept. of Classics, P.O.B. 4649, Lubbock, Texas 79409) is working towards a bilingual critical edition of the *Declamationes Sullanae* and *De Causis Corruptarum Artium lib. I-II*.

INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

NEW DICTIONARIES

- Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, OPERTURA-ORDINO (Hafniae, 1980).
Fuchs J. W. †, Weijers Olga, Gumbert Marijke, *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, fasc. 13-15: CONCRESCO-CREO (Leiden, 1980-81).
Latham R. E., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin From British Sources*. Fasc. II: C (London, Oxford U.P., 1981).
Plezia M., *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*. Vol. V, fasc. 3-4-5 (= 37-38-39): Incisivus-intellectualis (Warszawa 1980-81).

*

- Avizonis K., *Rinktiniai Raštai*. Vol. II (Roma, 1978), pp. 331-450: "Lietuvos istorijos terminų žodynas". Index verborum latino-germano-russo-lithuanicus ad historiam socio-oeconomicam et institutionalem Lithuaniae pertinens.
Van Emstede E. J. Th. A. M., *Glossarium Iuris Brabantici of zestelig verklarend woordenboek van de ambts- en rechtstaal gebezigd in het voormalige Hertogdom Brabant, 1222-1781 (1807)*. (To be ordered from: Stichting Brabants Rechts-eigen, Molenstraat 48, NL-5751 LE Deurne, The Netherlands). Glossarium nederlandico-latino-gallico-germanico-anglico-hispanicum linguae publicae et iuridicae antiqui ducatus Brabantiae.

*

- Kaiser L. W., "Additions to Neo-Latin Lexicography", *Neo-Latin News*, 29 (1981), p. 32, N-9. Two unrecorded words: *oratorculus* and *rabillans* (from *rabble*, olim *rabill*). I wonder if one should not read *rabulans* and explain it as another form of the well-known *rabula*. (J.IJ.)

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

List of Latin words to be found in this volume, but not in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* nor in Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*. Words to be found in dictionaries of mediaeval Latin are marked with an asterisk (*).

An *Index verborum notabilium* is also to be found at the end of *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vol. III: Judocus J. C. A. Crabeels, *Odae Iscanae ... (1781)* (Louvain, 1981).

Americanus, *American*: p. 148

*antelatio, *priority*: p. 153

Aurora borealis, *Northern lights*: p. 230

*bassus, *bass (voice)*: p. 241

bibliopegus, *bookbinder*: p. 222

Brasilia, *Brazil*: p. 195

- Celtigena, *son of a Celt* : p. 195
 centonicum (carmen), *cento* : p. 139
 chocolata, *chocolate* : p. 233
 *commune, an Italian 'comune' : p. 2-3
 copula, *stanza* : p. 191
 cruciger, *Kreuzer (coin)* : p. 226, 227.
 Cyprigena, *Venus* : p. 195
 *desinentia, *ending* : p. 15
 diadicus, *binary (in metrics)* : p. 14
 docticola, *honouring the learned* : p. 188
 *elementaris, *basic, elementary* : p. 153
 Fiumum, *Rijeka/Fiume* : p. 228
 *florenus, *guilder* : p. 218
 guinea, *guinea (coin)* : p. 234
 Indum venenum, *indigo* : p. 146
 *marchio, *margrave* : p. 229
 Mexicanus, *Mexican* : p. 140, 150
 Mexiceus, *Mexican (poet.)* : p. 144, 146
 Mexicus, -i, *Mexico* : p. 136, 138, 145, 148
 *ordinamentum, *ordinance* : p. 2
 *Palatinatus, -us, *the Palatinate* : p. 213
 Perus, -us, *Peru* : p. 195
 philobarbarus, *friend of barbarians* : p. 65
 *poenitentiarius, *penitentiary* : p. 42
 Posoniensis, *from Bratislava = Pozsony = Pressburg* : p. 236
 Protestans, *protestant* : p. 234
 *quaestionarium, *questionnaire* : p. 141
 relectio, *re-reading* : p. 141
 Scaphusianus, *from Schafhausen* : p. 229
 *septennalis, *of seven years* : p. 229
 septiceps (hydra), *with seven heads* : p. 160
 *sultanus, *sultan* : p. 228
 sympresbyter, *brother priest* : p. 65
 *tenor, *tenor (voice)* : p. 241
 tetradicus, *quaternary (in metrics)* : p. 15
 thalerus, *thaler (coin)* : p. 231
 theophilosophicus, *theological and philosophical* : p. 153
 *tormentum, *gun* : p. 227
 trudiculorum ludus, *a kind of tournament* : p. 145
 *typographus, *printer* : p. 222
 *typus, *printing type* : p. 228
 veprituens, *protecting the bushes* : p. 195

INDICES

1. INDEX CODICUM MANU SCRIPTORUM

- Arezzo, *Archivio di Stato* :
- 1) Collegio dottori e notari, 1 : p. 1-2
 - 2) Estraz. uffici pubbl. città, 6 : p. 2, 12
 - 3) Statuti e Riforme Com. Arezzo 1342-1771, 4 : p. 2
 - 4) Deliber. Priori d. Consiglio gen., 5 : p. 3-4, 8, 9, 12
- Brugge, *Groot Seminarie*, Bosmans : *Chron. Throno-Mart.* : p. 41
- Brussel, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 1185 : p. 42
- Brussel, *idem*, 4850-4857 : p. 40
- Brussel, *idem*, 18373-74 : p. 240
- Escorial, N III 7 : p. 6
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Laurenziana* 46,13; 48,10; 63,4-6; 66,12; 78,24; 79,7 + 11; 83,6 : p. 6-7
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale*, Conv. Soppr. I VII 18 : p. 7, 8
- Firenze, *idem* I IX 35 : p. 7
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Riccardiana*, 500 : p. 7
- 's-Gravenhage, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 121D2/11 : p. 239
- Imotski (Jugosl.), *Franciscan Convent*, ms. (no shelf-mark) : p. 7
- London, *British Library*, Harl. 5248 : p. 7
- Mexico, *Biblioteca Nacional*, 1631 : p. 129-131
- München, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, clm 583 : p. 177
- München, *idem*, 603 : p. 177-179
- München, *idem*, 763 : p. 6
- München, *idem*, 2202 : p. 177
- München, *idem*, 3604 : p. 14
- Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Ms. d'Orville 78 : p. 7
- Rotterdam, *Gemeentebibliotheek*, 15 C 4 : p. 40
- St. Gallen, *Stadtbibliothek*, 298 : p. 6
- Utrecht, *Universiteitsbibliotheek*, 836 : p. 196
- Utrecht, *idem*, 837 : p. 181-193, 194
- Vaticano, *Basil. S. Petri*, H 31 : p. 6
- Vaticano, *Pal. lat.* 1496 : p. 6, p. 8
- Vaticano, *Vat. lat.* 3237 : p. 7
- Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 3.1.262,2 Aug. : p. 208
- Zwolle, *Rijksarchief*, Verzameling Overijsselsch Regt 1034 : p. 40-56.

2. INDEX NOMINUM SELECTORUM

Names of authors listed alphabetically in Rummel's article on Erasmus (pp. 74-83) and in the Instrumentum Bibliographicum (pp. 242-270) have not been repeated in this index.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| Abad, D.J. : 148, 152. | Alardus Amstelodamensis : 30. |
| Abstemijs, L. : 246. | Alberti, L. B. : 258. |
| Adolph, J. B. : 212. | Alciatus, A. : 134. |
| Aeneas Silvius, Piccolomini : 26, 34. | Alegre, F. J. : 145, 148, 152, 153. |
| Agricola, R. : 13, 19-39, 52, 245, 258. | Alexander de Villa Dei : 13. |
| Aicher, O. : 255. | Altamirano, H. : 130. |

- Alvarez, M.: 134.
 Ambrosius: 100.
 Andreae, J. V.: 243, 257.
 Andrelinus, F.: 249.
 Antoniu, C.: 270.
 Arator: 97.
 Aristophanes: 60, 97, 103.
 Aristoteles: 102, 134.
 Ascham, R.: 257.
 Asulanus, F.: 246.
 Atrocianus, J.: 248.
 Aubrey, J.: 26.
 Audoenus (Owen) J.: 244.
 Augustinus: 95, 96, 97, 99, 101.
 Auratus, J.: 181-193, 247.
 Ausonius: 243.
 Avancini, N.: 212.

 Bacon, F.: 103.
 Balde, J.: 243.
 Baptista Mantuanus: 248.
 Barbarus, Hermolaus: 6, 24, 38, 244, 258.
 Barbarus, Franciscus: 6, 7.
 Barclaius, J.: 243.
 Barlaeus, Gaspar: 247.
 Barlaeus, Melchior: 248.
 Baroni, Francesco: 261.
 Barthius, C.: 243.
 Basil van Groningen: 33.
 Baudius, D.: 248.
 Bautista Balli J.: 132.
 Beatus Rhenanus: 21, 35, 268.
 Beccaria, A.: 244.
 Bembus, P.: 244.
 Bessarion: 16, 258.
 Beteta, F. de —, 128.
 Betuleius (Birck), S.: 255.
 Bezdechí, St.: 270.
 Bidermann, J.: 243.
 Blondus, Flavius: 244.
 Boccaccio, G.: 265.
 Bochiu, J.: 252.
 Boiardo, M.: 248.
 Boissardus, J. J.: 247.
 Bombacius, P.: 83.
 Brasseur, Ph.: 247.

 Bravo Bartolomé: 135.
 Bravo, Francisco: 128, 133, 134.
 Braye, R.: 252.
 Brechtus, L.: 156.
 Breynet, L.: 240, 241.
 Bruni, L.: 6, 9, 244, 258, 265.
 Buchanan, G.: 157.
 Buchelius, A.: 181-193, 194, 196.
 Budaeus, G.: 62, 71, 93, 248.
 Budny, Szyman: 257.
 Burton, R.: 270.

 Cabrera, Cr. de —: 127.
 Cabrera y Quintero, C.: 148.
 Caesar, J.: 34, 101.
 Camerarius, J.: 246, 254.
 Campanella, Th.: 257.
 Campos, J. G. de —: 151.
 Canisius, P.: 176.
 Cano, B.: 130.
 Canterus, G.: 193, 196.
 Canterus, Th.: 196.
 Carbo, J.: 41, 42.
 Carmina Priaepa: 243.
 Casaubonus, I.: 267.
 Castiglione, B.: 108-123.
 Castiglioni, Z.: 244.
 Castroverde, M.: 137.
 Cato Censor: 243.
 Catullus: 100.
 Celtis, C.: 13-18, 156, 159.
 Cenni, G. di —: vide *Johannés Aretinus*
 Cerda, J. H. de la —: 135.
 Cervantes de Salazar, Fr.: 128, 132, 133.
 Chelidonius, B.: 156.
 Cicero: 60, 64, 73, 74, 96, 97, 100, 102, 132, 141, 142, 171, 258.
 Cimpeanu, V. St.: 270.
 Clarenus: 268.
 Claus, A.: 211.
 Clava A.: 83.
 Clavigero: 152.
 Cleophilus, O.: 249, 262.
 Clerke, B.: 257.
 Climacus, J.: 268.
 Cochlaeus, J.: 34.

- Collenutius, P.: 257.
 Cools: vide Carbo.
 Cordus, E.: 248.
 Cosio, A. de —: 147.
 Cosme de Flores: 130.
 Cota, J.: 111.
 Crabeels, J.: 271.
 Crocus, C.: 170.
 Cueto, D.: 142.
 Culeo, J. de —: 252.
 Curlo, G.: 6.

 d'Ans, E. R.: 269.
 Damianus, P.: 248.
 Davies, J.: 244.
 Decembrius, P. C.: 244.
 de Koning, A.: 208.
 de Laet, J.: 247.
 Denso: 238.
 de Visch, C.: 268.
 Diaz Arce, J.: 141.
 Diaz de Gamarra y Davalos, J. B.: 152, 153.
 Diaz de Pangua, D.: 130, 135.
 Diogenes Laertius: 26, 27.
 Dioscorides: 243.
 Dobriceanu, E. A.: 270.
 Donatus, Aelius: 101, 173, 174.
 Donatus, Alexander: 179.
 Donne, J.: 107.
 Dorat: vide Auratus.
 Dorpius, M.: 28, 266.
 Dragheim, J. B.: 237.
 Drexel, J.: 243.
 Dürer, A.: 250.

 Eguiara y Eguren, J. J. de —: 150, 151.
 Entonius, J.: 256.
 Eobanus Hessus: 248.
 Erasmus: 21, 28, 40-54, 55-92, 93, 94, 97, 101, 103, 105, 128, 132, 171, 172, 245, 246, 247, 250, 258, 266.
 Euripides, 60, 61, 97, 102, 103.
 Evanthius: 173.

 Fabri Manuel: 150, 152.
 Fabricius, Georgius: 110.

 Faernus, G.: 146.
 Fernandez Osorio, J.: 142.
 Figuerora, F.: 130.
 Finet, J.: 247.
 Fleming, P.: 243.
 Fletcher, Giles (The Elder): 108.
 Flores, P.: 130.
 Folengo, T.: 255.
 Foxe, J.: 270.
 Fregoso, T.: 244.
 Frischlinus, N.: 255.
 Frulovisiis, T. Livius de —: 244, 247.
 Fuentes, A. O.: 145.
 Furnis, J. de —, 41, 42.

 Gager, W.: 270.
 Gaietanus, D.: 174.
 Galenus: 61, 269.
 Galindo, M.: 135.
 Gambara, L.: 111.
 Gansfort, W.: 24; 30, 33.
 Garces, J.: 132.
 Gaza, Th.: 32.
 Gellius, B.: 174.
 Gelous, S.: 254.
 Geldenhouwer, G.: 27, 28, 29, 30, 38.
 Gilberti, M.: 128, 134.
 Giustinian, B.: 244.
 Gnapheus, G.: 159.
 Gohorius, J.: 247.
 Goswin van Halen, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.
 Gomez de la Parra, J.: 142.
 Gonzalez, T.: 135, 136.
 Gott, S.: 257.
 Greflinger, G.: 236.
 Gregorius Nazianzenus: 173.
 Gretser, J.: 247.
 Grimaldus, N.: 157, 270.
 Grinaeus, G.: 250.
 Grinaeus, M. A.: 250.
 Grotius, H.: 246.
 Gruterus, J.: 110, 111, 252.
 Gryphius, Chr.: 237.
 Guarinus Veronensis: 32, 244.
 Guerrero, A.: 141.
 Guevara, A.: 202.

- Guevara y Besoazabal, A. de —: 152, 153.
 Guzinger, G.: 255.
 Harvey, G.: 257.
 Harvey, W.: 245.
 Hegendorfinus, Chr.: 156.
 Hegius, A.: 24, 28, 52.
 Helianus, L.: 248.
 Pseudo-Hephaestion: 17.
 Hieronymus: 97.
 Hildebert de Lavardin: 266.
 Holberg, L.: 247.
 Holonius, G.: 156-180.
 Holonius, J.: 177.
 Homerus: 60, 97, 103, 104, 148.
 Horatius: 13, 60, 70, 96, 102, 104, 159.
 Hoyos, J.: 142.
 Hrotsuitha Gandershemensis: 159, 160, 167, 170.
 Humphrey, L.: 257.
 Huttenus, U.: 21, 247.
 Huygens, C.: 247.
 Isocrates: 61.
 Iturriaga, J. M.: 145.
 Jacobus de Voragine: 164, 165.
 Johannes Aretinus: 1-12.
 Ioncheere: vide de Furnis.
 Joncre, J.: 255.
 Jonson, B.: 107.
 Juvenius: 97.
 Käuffelin, J. M.: 238.
 Kepler, J.: 243.
 Kircher, A.: 243.
 Kirchner, H.: 256.
 Lampart, G. de —: 140.
 Landivar, R.: 146.
 Lapo da Castiglionchio: 244.
 Lazios, B.: 130.
 Larranaga, B. F.: 139, 147.
 Laurenberg, J.: 243.
 Lauterbach, J.: 247.
 Lazarescu, Tr.: 270.
 Lazcano, F. J.: 152, 153.
 Ledesma, B. de —: 134.
 Ledesma, J. de —: 130, 135, 144.
 Le Jay, G. Fr.: 205.
 Lessing, G. E.: 210.
 Letmaet, H.: 264.
 Lipsius, J.: 258, 267.
 Lipsius, M.: 40.
 Llanos, B. de —: 130, 132, 135, 136.
 Llwyd, H.: 244.
 Locher, J. (Philomusus): 156.
 Logus, G.: 109.
 Lopez, B.: 141.
 Lopez de Aviles, J.: 139.
 Lopez V.: 145, 150, 152.
 Lucanus: 96, 97, 102.
 Lucianus: 61.
 Luther: 156.
 Machiavelli, N.: 260.
 Macropedius, G.: 156, 159, 166, 167, 170, 239.
 Maneiro, J. H.: 150, 152.
 Manso, G. B.: 112.
 Manutius, A.: 246.
 Marggraf, G.: 247.
 Mario, A. di —: 6.
 Marti, M.: 151.
 Martialis: 100, 103, 243.
 Martyranus, C.: 246.
 Marslarius, H.: 263.
 Marullus, M.: 111, 248.
 Masenius, J.: 243.
 Mauburnus, J.: 41, 42.
 Melanchton, Ph.: 21, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 93, 254, 258.
 Melissus, P.: 194-196.
 Mellinus, C.: 109, 116.
 Mendoza, L. de —: 140.
 Mercado, T.: 134.
 Milton, J.: 108-123.
 Modicius, G.: 110.
 Mombaer: vide Mauburnus.
 Monroy, A. de —: 142.
 Monte, Petrus de —: 244.
 Montemayor, Fr. de —: 139.
 Morel, J. de —: 247.

- Morhofius, D.G.: 243.
 Moro, G.: 147.
 Morus, Th.: 93, 97, 247, 250.
 Moulin, A. du —: 246.
 Musius, C.: 246.
 Mutianus, R.: 21.

 Nagonius, J.M.: 248.
 Naugerius, A.: 111.
 Nebrissensis, A.: 135.
 Neercassel, J. van —: 264.
 Negrete, J.: 133.
 Neumayr, F.: 199, 200, 201, 204.
 Niccoli, N.: 6, 9, 11, 12.
 Nicholaus Leodiensis, 162.

 Obrizius, R.: 110.
 Odaxius, L.: 246.
 Ecolampadius, J.: 31.
 Opitz, M.: 243.
 Ortigosa, P. de —, 134.
 Osorio y Peralta, D.: 141.
 Osorius, H.: 257.
 Ostermincherus, M.: 256.
 Oudaan: 257.
 Ovidius: 98, 134, 248.
 Owen: vide *Audoenus*.

 Pacini, A.: 244.
 Palaeologus, J.: 257.
 Pareja, Fr. de —: 136, 137.
 Parreno, J.: 152.
 Paruta, N.: 257.
 Paulinus Nolanus: 97.
 Paulus Aegineta: 243.
 Pena: 130.
 Pena, J. de la —: 128.
 Peralta, A. de —: 152, 153.
 Perottus, N.: 13-18.
 Petrarcha: 246, 265.
 Petrus Trudonensis: 42.
 Philologus, B.: 174.
 Pico della Mirandola, G.: 94, 258.
 Pilladius, L.: 248.
 Piso, G.: 247.
 Pizolpasso, Fr.: 244.
 Plancerte, J.A.: 145.

 Plante, J.: 247.
 Plantinus, Christophorus: 243.
 Plato: 60, 96, 99, 104.
 Plautus: 97, 99, 101, 103, 156.
 Plazonius, J.: 111.
 Plieningen, J. von —: 28, 34, 35, 36, 37.
 Plinius, C., Secundus: 243.
 Plutarchus: 60, 61, 96, 100, 102, 104.
 Poggio Bracciolini, N.: 6, 9, 258.
 Politianus, A.: 248, 258, 261.
 Pollet, J.: 247.
 Pontanus, Joh. Jov.: 111, 179, 248, 258.
 Portinari, B.: 6.
 Portu, M.: 141.
 Powel, D.: 244.
 Prasch, J.L.: 243.
 Price, J.: 257.
 Priscianus: 16.
 Prise, J.: 244.
 Prosper Aquitanus: 97.
 Prudentius: 97.

 Quintilianus: 64, 97, 100, 102, 132.

 Rabelais, F.: 253.
 Rabus, P.: 250.
 Ramirez, Fr.: 140.
 Ramus, P.: 258.
 Ratallerus, G.: 254.
 Rauber, Pl.: 255.
 Rettenpacher, S.: 255.
 Remaclus Arduenna: 248.
 Reuchlin, J.: 156, 260.
 Reusner, N.: 247.
 Reuther, K.: 159, 160.
 Rhys, S.D.: 244.
 Richardson, S.: 258.
 Rinuccius Aretinus: 246.
 Riofrio, B. de —: 139, 140.
 Rotallerus, G.: vide *Ratallerus*.
 Rovere, G. della —: 247.
 Rubio, A.: 140.
 Rüdinger, E.: 262.
 Rueda, J. de —: 141.
 Rycquius, J.: 247.

 Sabellicus, M.A.: 244.

- Salazar, E. de —: 128, 133.
 Salceda, P. de —: 141.
 Salesbury, H.: 244.
 Sallustius: 102.
 Salutati Coluccio: 3, 9, 258, 265.
 San Benito, J. de —: 148.
 Sannazarus, J.: 111, 248.
 Sartorius, J.: 159.
 Schottenius, H.: 248.
 Schraderus, Chr.: 248.
 Secundus, J.: 241.
 Sedulius Caelius: 97.
 Seneca: 96, 97, 102, 156, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174.
 Serassi, P. A.: 110, 113, 118.
 Sierra, A.: 141.
 Sigebertus Gemblacensis: 162.
 Sigüenza y Gongora, C. de —: 137.
 Silvius, J.: 252.
 Simone da Teramo, 244.
 Sleidanus, J.: 248.
 Smids: 257.
 Sonhovius, J.: 177.
 Sophocles: 60, 97, 102.
 Spartianus, Aelius: 199.
 Stanleius, T.: 246.
 Stemmonius, J.: 247.
 Stengel, G.: 255.
 Stettler, H.: 214-238.
 Stopius, N.: 247.
 Stradling, J.: 244.
 Strimesius, J. S.: 237.
 Strozza, T. V.: 32, 249.
 Suarez, C.: 135.
 Subica, N.: 270.
 Suetonius: 22.
 Sydenham, T.: 245.
 Tacitus: 102.
 Talenti, R.: 244.
 Tellez, M.: 128.
 Terentius: 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 156, 159, 166, 173.
 Tethinger, J.: 248.
 Toledo, Fr.: 134.
 Torrentius, L.: 110.
 Tortellius, J.: 7.
 Traversarius, A.: 9, 26.
 Trithemius, J.: 21, 22, 23, 24, 38.
 Tuccius, St.: 131.
 Udall, N.: 106.
 Uriarte, L. de —: 142.
 Utenhovius, C.: 247.
 Valades, D. de —: 134.
 Valla, L.: 258.
 Valencia, Juan de —: 136-137.
 Varanius, Valerandus: 247.
 Varro, M. T.: 243.
 Vazquez Salgado, A.: 147.
 Venegas, J. de —: 128.
 Veracruz, A. de la —: 128, 133, 134.
 Vergilius: 60, 102, 111, 139, 143, 147.
 Vernulaeus, N.: 255.
 Victorinus Feltrensis: 16.
 Villerias y Roel, J. de —: 143, 144.
 Vitalis, J.: 111.
 Vibes, J. L.: 84, 93-107, 128, 132, 257, 258.
 Volaterranus, R.: 246.
 Waldis, B.: 156.
 Westphal, Chr.: 238.
 White, R.: 257.
 Winckelmann: 210, 212.
 Wolfius, H.: 246.
 Zamora, S. de —: 145, 150.
 Zanchius, Basilius Petreus: 108-123.
 Zapata y Sandoval, J.: 141.
 Ziegler, H.: 170.

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
(JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES)

Ed. Prof. Dr. J. IJSEWIJN

Volume XVII,	1968, 162 p. — 250 fr.
Volume XVIII,	1969, 164 p. — 300 fr.
Volume XIX,	1970, 514 p. — 900 fr.
Volume XX,	1971, 297 p. — 600 fr.
Volume XXI,	1972, 412 p. — 800 fr.
Volume XXII,	1973, 341 p. — 700 fr.
Volume XXIII,	1974, 441 p. — 900 fr.
Volume XXIV,	1975, 376 p. — 900 fr.
Volume XXV,	1976, 306 p. — 900 fr.
Volume XXVI,	1977, 280 p. — 900 fr.
Volume XXVII,	1978, 366 p. — 900 fr.
Volume XXVIII,	1979, 386 p. — 980 fr.
Volume XXIX,	1980, 353 p. — 980 fr.

SUPPLEMENTA HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

1. *Iohannis Harmonii Marsi. De rebus italicis deque triumpho Ludovici XII regis Francorum Tragoedia*, ed. G. TOURNOY, 1978.
2. *Charisterium H. De Vocht 1878-1978*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN & J. ROEGIERS, 1979.
3. *Judocus J. C. A. Crabeels. Odae Iscanae. Schuttersfeest te Overijse (1781)*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN, G. VANDE PUTTE & R. DENAYER, 1981.